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TRANSLATIONS FROM CHINESE COMMUNIST
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL PERIODICALS

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THE GREAT SPLENDORS OF MAO
TSE-TUNG'S IDEOLOGY

--from reading "A Small Spark Can Start
A Prairie Fire," and "On New Democracy"

[The following is a full translation of an article written by Hu Hsi-k'uei appearing in the Hsin Chien-she, No 3, 1960, pages 1-11, a monthly magazine published by the Hsin Chien-she Tsa-chih She, Peiping, 7 March 1960.]

(1)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, who is the great leader of the Chinese people, is most adept in closely uniting the universal truth in Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's revolution and reconstruction. Synthesizing his abundant experience in China's revolution and reconstruction, he has comprehensively and creatively developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism in the realm of philosophy, political economy, and theories of socialism and communism.

With the most thorough-going materialism and dialectics and with the ideology of coordinating the theory of incessant revolution with the theory of stages of revolutionary development in Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has been able to resolve a series of important problems such as new democratic revolution, socialist revolution, socialist reconstruction, and transition toward communism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's writings form the model of coordination between the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of China's revolution and reconstruction. Two of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's many famous writings are "A Small Spark Can Start A Prairie Fire" and "On New Democracy" which were written during the most arduous years in the Chinese revolution, thus arming the entire party and the broad mass of people in China with creative Marxist-Leninist theories of revolution.

"A Small Spark Can Start A Prairie Fire" was first published in January 1930. Then, the general revolutionary situation in China was in its low ebb. Following the temporary debacle of China's revolution in 1927, counterrevolutionary forces became rampant in all key cities in China, unleashing sanguinary suppressions on the revolutionary forces which suffered serious blows and losses.

Under these circumstances, some of the comrades in the party were deceived by the seemingly formidable enemy; they became pessimistic: doubting whether the new upsurge of the revolution would come soon, and questioning whether the red revolutionary flag could be hoisted permanently.

It was therefore an extremely important task to point out to the entire party and entire people how to continue to persist in the revolutionary struggle. At a time when the counterrevolutionary tide was engulfing the nation and a deep gloom prevailed, Comrade Mao Tse-tung's "A Small Spark Can Start A Prairie Fire" correctly pointed out the bright future of the eventual victory of Chinese revolution, thus prescribing the road to victory. It has thus stimulated the revolutionary resolve and affirmed the confidence of the Chinese people when the revolution was at a most arduous and difficult stage.

"On New Democracy" was published in January 1940. By this time, the Chinese revolution had entered into a stalemate in the anti-Japanese war. The object of Japanese imperialism being to conquer China, the Japanese stopped their strategic offensives in the Kuomintang battle-front in order to accelerate their seduction for China's surrender by political means, while their main military force was concentrated in the war areas in the liberated areas.

With a view to pacifying Japanese imperialism in the Orient, the American and British imperialists were intensifying their intrigues to sacrifice China and to sell her down river. Chiang Kai-shek's reactionaries, catering to demands of American and British imperialism, frantically launched anti-Communist and anti-people activities.

Under the double attack of foreign foes and domestic reactionaries, our party was confronted with a serious struggle. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's "On New Democracy" was written under these historic conditions.

In his work, "On New Democracy," Comrade Mao Tse-tung has applied and developed the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to make a stocktaking of the revolutionary experience of the Chinese people during the century from 1840 to 1940. He has elucidated, theoretically, the historical characteristics of the Chinese revolution, explained the strategic policies of the entire revolutionary process, and further systematically clarified the general line of China's new democratic revolution, thus thoroughly smashing the various counterrevolutionary innuendoes of foreign foes and domestic reactionaries and criticizing diverse opportunistic ideologies within the party.

With creative Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's ideology has armed the entire party and entire people of the nation to vindicate the successful development of China's new democratic revolution.

(2)

The national democratic revolution of a semi-colonial and semi-feudalistic China must be led by the proletariat, with the worker-peasant alliance as its basis, to rally all the strength in China that can be rallied, to align with the Soviet Union and all revolutionary forces internationally, and to overthrow the reactionary rule of the three arch enemies of the Chinese people, namely: imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, thus setting up a people's republic.

This is then the general line of the new democratic revolution under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung ideology. According to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's famous synthesis, this is called "the revolution of the mass of the people which is anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, and anti-bureaucratic capitalism, under the leadership of the proletariat."

The strategy and tactics of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's new democratic revolution had been advanced as early back as in the period of the first revolutionary war in China. Even then, Comrade Mao Tse-tung was already adept in applying the methods of class analysis in Marxism-Leninism.

the completion of the new democratic revolution.

In criticizing the reactionary tides of the bourgeoisie and the opportunist ideology in the party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly explained that the reason why Chinese communists were so actively pursuing the democratic revolution was to pave the way for socialism and communism. Transcending the entire strategy and tactics of the democratic revolution enacted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung is a red line calling for the preparation of ample prerequisites for socialist revolution through the process of democratic revolution. The history of our party and the history of the revolution and reconstruction of the Chinese people have gone through the road mapped out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Modern China was basically a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society in which the main contradictions were between imperialism and Chinese nationalism, and between feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism on one part, and the Chinese people on the other. Consequently, the first task of the Chinese revolution is to oppose imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. From its social characteristic, such a revolution still belongs to the scope of bourgeois democratic revolution.

However, this democratic revolution is no longer the old democracy, but it is a kind of new democracy.

The new characteristics of this kind of democratic revolution can be shown in the following:

First, the leadership power of new democratic revolutions belongs to the proletariat, not the bourgeoisie. Secondly, the main strength of this revolution is to be found in the worker-peasant alliance, not in the bourgeoisie. Thirdly, this revolution forms a part of the world socialist revolution of the proletariat, but not a part of the bourgeois world revolution. Fourthly, the purpose of this revolution is to establish a people's republic under the leadership of the proletariat (through the communist party), with the worker-peasant alliance as its basis; it is not to establish a republic under bourgeois dictatorship.

The reason why the change from old democracy to new democracy has arisen in China's democratic revolution can

be traced to the changes that have occurred in the historic period of Chinese revolution. One characteristic of the historic period is that the Chinese revolution came after the great October revolution when the entire international situation was at the transition from capitalism to communism, when socialism and socialist systems were flourishing exuberantly, and when the capitalist system was heading toward its accelerated demise.

Thus pointed out Comrade Mao Tse-tung: "The first imperialist world war and the first victory of socialism in the October revolution has altered the direction of the entire world history, and divided the historic periods of the world."

Marx says: "Revolution is the locomotive of history." Since the October socialist revolution has changed the direction of the entire world history and demarcated the historic periods of the entire world, then the question of the Chinese revolution in this brand new historic period and in this semi-colonial and semi-feudalistic society is to adopt what kind of attitude toward the revolutionary strength of the international proletariat and the socialist nations. It is also the question of whether the revolution in these countries could achieve success, and after achieving success, whether it could be consolidated.

In this new historic period, the moribund imperialists, with a view to saving their own fate, have been, on one hand, frantically suppressing the proletarian revolutionary movement in their own countries, and on the other, frantically suppressing the liberation movement in colonies and semi-colonies.

In order to achieve this goal, the imperialists have adopted the ignoble policy of disruption, hoping to disrupt the solidarity among the international proletariat, and the solidarity between nationalistic liberation movements in colonies and semi-colonies and international communist movement, so that they could be destroyed one by one separately.

In order to achieve this goal, the imperialists have also massively fostered the reactionary forces in colonies and semi-colonies to sabotage the people's revolutions there, and to enable themselves to squeeze financial, mate-

rial, and human resources as well as to convert these colonies and semi-colonies into the most solid bases to resist international proletarian revolution.

Writes Comrade Mao Tse-tung: "In this world, all imperialists are our enemies. If China is to be independent, we cannot isolate ourselves from the help of socialist countries and the international proletariat."

Historical development has borne out that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's judgment is completely correct. In this historic period, it will be basically impossible for colonial and semi-colonial countries to achieve genuine independence and liberation without the support of socialist countries and the international proletariat.

The repercussion of this historic period in which capitalism is moribund and socialism flourishes is that the proletariat in China has become a great and independent political force. Through the great October revolution, the proletariat of China acquired the ideological weapon of Marxism-Leninism, established their own revolutionary party, formulated a thoroughly anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolutionary program, and under proletarian leadership, built a firm worker-peasant alliance.

All of these are what the bourgeois will never have. Thus, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has pointed out clearly: "After the May 4th movement...the political leadership of China's bourgeois democratic revolution belonged no longer to the Chinese bourgeoisie; it belonged to the proletariat."

After carefully analyzing the characteristics of Chinese society and the characteristics of the revolutionary period, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has correctly enacted the strategy and tactics of the proletariat in democratic revolution, as well as the concrete steps for the realization of socialism and communism. The most crucial point is the thorough implementation of leadership by the proletariat.

How does the proletariat realize and consolidate its power for revolutionary leadership? The basic question lies in the correct solution of the peasant question. Inasmuch as the imperialists oppressed the people of China through feudal influences and the compradores, the peasants

have been the most oppressed and exploited. Unless the proletariat depend on the broad poor peasants and fully develop their revolutionary positiveness, it would be impossible for them to achieve revolutionary victory. This is the most unique characteristic in the revolution of a colony or semi-colony.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has fully appraised the revolutionary functions of peasants. He says: the peasant question is "the basic question of Chinese revolution, and the strength of peasants forms the foremost strength of revolution." "The Chinese revolution is substantially a peasant revolution."

In accordance with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's diagnoses, our party has enacted a thorough revolutionary program for land reform, "adopting the policy of firmly relying upon the political awareness and organizational strength of peasants, to mobilize and save themselves, to overthrow landlords and to acquire land, and to safe-guard their own land." In this way, a firm alliance between workers and peasants has been established.

After correctly resolving the peasant question and steadfastly erecting the worker-peasant alliance, it has thus become possible for the party to correctly resolving the question of relations between the proletariat and the national capitalists. In accordance with the concrete condition of China as a basically semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, Comrade Mao has divided China's bourgeoisie into two segments.

One segment consists of bureaucratic and compradore capitalists who are the agents of imperialism, the allies of feudalism, and the enemies of the people of China. The other segment consists of national capitalists who have been oppressed and squeezed by imperialism, feudalism, and the bureaucratic and compradore capitalists. They advocate the independent development of national economy, and have the possibility of participating in the revolution or maintaining a neutral stand. By making this distinction for the capitalists, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has therefore laid the theoretical foundation of Marxism in enacting the party's policy toward the bourgeoisie.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has also analyzed the dual characters of the national capitalists--revolutionary and reactionary. The history of Chinese revolution has proven that the national capitalists of a semi-colonial and colonial country have the penchant for anti-imperialism. In the meantime, they are also fraught with wavering, compromise, and they lack thoroughness.

Where the counterrevolutionary force is relatively strong, and the people's revolutionary strength force to cope with the common enemy. However, dreading the counterrevolutionary force and sceptical of the strength of the people, they will show great wavering.

When the strength of the revolution grows and counterrevolutionary influence becomes moribund, they will become afraid of the strength of the people, and hope to compromise with counterrevolution, thus betraying their reactionarism and lack of thoroughness.

Herein, it is probably not without significance to recall briefly the relations between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie during the process of revolutionary development. During the first internecine revolutionary war period from 1924 to 1927, collaboration was carried out between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang under Sun Yat-sen's leadership, thus establishing a united front between proletariat and bourgeoisie.

The leftist progressive force of the national bourgeoisie which have joined this revolutionary united front, with Sun Yat-sen as their representative, and based on the experience of protracted revolution, accepted the proposal of the CCP to change the old Three People's Principle (San-min chu-i) into the new Three People's Principles of alignment with the Soviet Union, collaboration with the Communists, and fostering of workers and peasants. It also calls for the change of the program of a bourgeois republic into that of a people's republic, in order to meet the needs of the new epoch.

Chiang Kai-shek, who represented the right wing of the national bourgeoisie, joined this revolutionary united front in order to utilize the strength of workers and peasants, the strength of the CCP, and the strength of the socialist Soviet Union to usurp the fruits of revolution.

geoisie, but has become the agent of imperialism and feudal and compradore influences. Internally, he adopted the reactionary policy of suppressing the people's revolution and upholding the interests of landlords and compradores.

In large numbers communist members, worker-peasant masses, and revolutionary intellectuals were murdered; the various democratic rights acquired by the great mass during the period of the great revolution were usurped and curbed; the national bourgeoisie were discriminated against and the development of national industry and commerce was impeded.

Externally, the reactionary policy of opposing the socialist Soviet Union and kowtowing to imperialism was introduced. In December 1927, Chiang Kai-shek issued an order to "sever relations with Russia," refusing to recognize Soviet consulates in various provinces, closing Soviet trade agencies, and even murdering the vice consul of Soviet Russia in Canton. In August 1929, under the instigation of imperialists, Chiang Kai-shek undertook military provocations in the Northeast against the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, in dealing with the governments of American and British imperialism which shelled Nanking in March 1927 to suppress the Chinese revolution, Chiang Kai-shek adopted the sub-servient policy of ignominiously making preparations for "losses" and "expressing regrets."

Vis a vis the Japanese imperialism which staged the "May 3" tragedy in 1928, a more humiliating policy of overt treason was chosen. In his 22-year rule over China, Chiang Kai-shek has fully demonstrated himself as the unprecedented number one traitor who sold the Chinese people and their national interests.

Chiang Kai-shek dreamed that he could use imperialist "aid" to suppress the revolution of the Chinese people. However, instead of suppressing the strength of the people's revolution, this strength has grown tremendously under the wise leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party. The prestige of the CCP has grown to such an extent in the minds of the Chinese people that it is regarded as their only savior, while Chiang

Kai-shek has become the public enemy of the Chinese people, having invited his own ruin.

The history of the protracted struggle of the Chinese people proves that it is the CCP which has really undertaken the task of leading China's national independence and democratic revolution. It is the workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals under the leadership of the CCP who have waged a valiant struggle for national independence and democratic revolution.

Owing to the oppressions of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, the national bourgeoisie have failed to achieve their political status. Consequently, they cherish anti-imperialist hopes, and they can be aligned to oppose imperialism together.

In dealing with such national bourgeoisie, one of the tasks for the proletariat is not overlook their revolutionary character, and on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, to form a united front with them in pushing the anti-imperialist struggle.

Another facet of the task is that at no time should the compromising, wavering, and reactionary characters of the national bourgeoisie be forgotten, and so a struggle involving timely and necessary criticism must be launched.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has synthesized his policy toward the national bourgeoisie as one of alignment while struggling. To align, one must persist in the stand of the proletariat, and struggle is also for the sake of alignment, so as to cope with the common enemy of imperialism and to strive for national independence and the democratic freedoms of the people.

Owing to the implementation of this united front policy, it has become possible for our party to augment the revolutionary strength, to win the support of the middle-of-the-road elements, and to isolate the reactionary forces, thus firmly maintaining the leadership powers of the proletariat, and rallying the greatest mass of the people.

Such a great ideology of revolutionary strategy is beyond the comprehension of the opportunists. It is impossible for the rightist opportunists to perceive that

in the bourgeoisie, there is a difference between compradore and bureaucratic capitalists on one hand, and national capitalists on the other; nor can they see the compromise and wavering characters of the national bourgeoisie.

Consequently, they deem that the main strength of democratic revolution consists of the bourgeoisie. Instead of relying on the worker-peasant alliance, they look to the bourgeoisie for victory. In uniting with the bourgeoisie, they resort to alignment only, but neglect to struggle,

They are even willing to repress the progress of the revolutionary strength of workers and peasants, thus adopting a policy of capitulation before the bourgeoisie. Moreover, when a revolution is launched in which the bourgeoisie is aligned, they will refuse to struggle against the compromising, wavering, and reactionarism of the bourgeoisie, thus forsaking the weapon of criticism and the leadership power of the proletariat and harassing the further progress of revolution.

Following the betrayal of the Kuomintang reactionaries led by Chiang Kai-shek, a counterrevolutionary regime was established. The rightist opportunists then regard this regime as the success of the bourgeoisie, and advocate the abandonment of revolutionary struggle and the cancellation of democratic revolution.

Then, when the reactionaries can no longer rule, when the people are no longer willing to lead their old lives, and when the strength of revolution reaches a point as to be able to beat the counterrevolution, they dare not seize this excellent opportunity to struggle for a decisive victory.

Similarly, it seems impossible also for the "leftist" opportunists to see the difference between compradore-bureaucratic capitalists and national capitalists in the bourgeoisie. Nor can they see that in the national bourgeoisie, there is a certain degree of revolutionary character at a certain stage.

Naturally, they will not try to analyze that there are three kinds of political influence in the national bourgeoisie, namely: left, middle, and right, and that it is

possible to align the majority and isolate the minority. Nor will they analyze the conflicts and differences among compradore capitalists who work for different imperialists, and when the enemies of the nation are entrenched in our territory, it is necessary to give differential treatment, in order to expand the influence of the camp of the national revolution, and to curb the influence of the counterrevolutionary camp.

Consequently, they advocate the elimination of all bourgeoisie during the democratic revolution, and consider the middle as their principal target of assault. This is merely struggle, without alignment, and its effect is to prevent the achievement of revolutionary victory.

In his struggle against the "leftist" and rightist opportunists, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has solidified the entire party and entire people, insisted in the revolutionary tactic of alignment while struggling vis a vis the national bourgeoisie, developed Marxism-Leninism, and implemented the correct line of the Chinese revolution.

The experience from history has borne out that the new democratic revolution must have the leadership of the proletariat; it must be based on worker-peasant alliance; and it must align all available strength, before it can defeat the enemy, push the national democratic revolution to its end, thus opening the way for socialist revolution.

(3)

Since the new democratic revolution is the first revolutionary stage which the Chinese revolution must undergo, it is only by consummating it first before we can further realize the socialist revolution. Consequently, the question of what road to take in order to secure a nationwide victory becomes a question of foremost importance in the general line of the new democratic revolution.

The revolution cannot be pushed unless we understand the question. To correctly resolve this question, it is necessary to creatively apply the universal truth of

Marxism-Leninism to concretely analyse the concrete situations in China.

The old China being a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, the reactionaries have, with the support of international imperialism, set up in the cities a most barbarous reactionary rule, practicing the feudal and compradore military dictatorship. Both the internal and foreign enemies were armed to the teeth.

Consequently, it has become an important characteristic of the Chinese revolution "to use armed revolution to oppose armed counterrevolution," and to use the rural villages under armed revolution to be siege and finally to capture the cities occupied by the counterrevolution.

For a long time, however, this important characteristic has been misunderstood by all opportunists. They ignore the actual conditions of Chinese revolution, but insist in adhering to the formula which says that first, long-term legitimate struggle should be conducted in cities to win over the mass, and then, with the metropolitan cities as centers, armed uprising be waged to seize national power.

Consequently, when it becomes impossible for the revolution to score victory in large cities, the opportunists still insist in their theory of making cities as centers, thus causing unnecessary damage to the revolution.

There are still others who develop pessimism, doubt whether the red flag of revolution can be raised eventually, and question whether the revolutionary strength will become formidable. They do not believe that the correct road of Comrade Mao which calls for the surrounding and capture of cities by the revolutionary armed villages can eventually attain nationwide victory. Consequently, they fail to envision the prospect of revolutionary victory and fail to take this correct road to victory.

Completely in contrast with this attitude, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has seen most clearly the eventual victory of the Chinese revolution, and has had the clearest understanding of this road to victory. To elucidate the prospect of the eventual victory of this revolution theoretically, he has written "A Small Spark Can Start A Prairie Fire."

In this treatise, Comrade Mao Tse-tung creatively applies the method class analysis in Marxism-Leninism to analyse the trends of development of all contradictions in Chinese society conducive to revolution. He also analysed the tendencies of opposing and relative growth and diminishing of revolutionary strength and the strength of counterrevolution.

In this way, he points out that "China is full of dry wood which soon combust to form a conflagration;" that the upsurge of the tide of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution is bound to come; that China's revolutionary strength has not only the possibility of development, but it has the eventuality of development; thus teaching his comrade that while strategically they must despise their adversaries, yet tactically, they must esteem them.

Thereafter, in each crucial change of the revolutionary struggle, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has used this viewpoint of revolutionary dialectics and this great spirit of communism to teach members of the party and the broad mass of the people.

It is necessary to despise the enemy strategically, because any revolutionary may be seemingly strong, but actually is weak and corrupt, and he will be annihilated by the strength of the people. The proletarian revolutionists should deeply understand this historic law in order to bolster the morale of the people, and to undermine the prestige of their enemies.

In the meantime, tactically, we must esteem the enemy, so that we can smash them one by one, and win the victory.

Inasmuch as there is the social prerequisite for the victory of Chinese revolution, a more important question is the correct solution of the road to victory. Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out that the only correct road for the victory of the Chinese revolution is to send the vanguards of the proletariat to rural villages to mobilize the peasants for land revolution and revolutionary war, to form revolutionary bastions therein, and to use the armed revolutionary rural villages to siege cities and finally to capture them, thus pushing the revolution forward from one front to another.

Why must this be so? Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out that to comprehend this question, we must realize that China is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society in which many imperialist countries viewed each other for domination. This is because:

First, being semi-colonial and semi-feudal, China's economic development is most unbalanced (lacking a unified capitalist economy). On one hand, there are a few large cities with modern industries, and on the other, there are broad rural villages which are economically backward.

While these industrial cities depend on rural villages for their sustenance, the latter can exist independently separated from cities. The political repercussion of this kind of economy is that while it is possible for the counterrevolution to set up comparatively powerful rule in cities, in the broad rural villages, it is impossible. Although temporarily, the revolutionary strength cannot be developed massively in urban areas, in rural areas, it can be forged tremendously.

Secondly, in this semi-colonial and semi-feudal China, the conflicts between the reactionary ruling classes have grown daily, while wars between the reactionary ruling classes have also multiplied. These contradictions can also be utilized by the revolution.

Thirdly, peasants are fraught with strong revolutionary demands and perseverance. This constitutes the most extensive mass basis for the proletariat to unleash revolutionary struggles in rural villages.

All these characteristics bespeak of the two facets of the Chinese revolution, namely; on one hand, it will be impossible to launch a simultaneous revolution in all parts of China, and on the other, it may be possible to mobilize revolution in certain parts first, and after victory is achieved, to push it into another area.

While it is impossible for the Chinese revolution to succeed first in big cities, yet it will score victories in rural villages. Moreover, while it is impossible for the revolution to undergo a long period of legitimate struggle in cities, and then to embark on an armed uprising, nevertheless, a protracted armed struggle

in rural areas may take place, to mobilize the mass for land revolution, to develop and expand the revolutionary bastions, and to build a revolutionary army which is wholeheartedly devoted to the people and will push the impact of revolution into the entire country, develop revolutionary strength, and eventually win a nationwide victory.

Consequently, it is pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung that the establishment and development of armed revolutionary bastions in rural villages is "the highest pattern of peasant struggle under proletarian leadership in a China that is semi-colonial and semi-feudal," and it is also the most important factor in accelerating the high tide of revolution throughout the country."

It is only so that we can establish the faith of the revolutionary mass of the nation, like the Soviet Union is to the entire world.

It is only so that we can deal great hardships to the reactionary ruling class, shake their foundations, and accelerate their internal disintegration.

It is only so that we can correctly create the red army to form the principal instrument of the great revolution in future. In general, it is only so that we can enhance the high tide of revolution."

The great ideology of Comrade Mao Tse-tung which has guided the democratic revolution of China to its victory is an armed revolution with its own bastions and its continuous march forward from one front to another. In rural revolutionary bastions, a revolutionary regime under proletarian leadership and a formidable revolutionary army have been established.

The revolutionary positiveness and revolutionary organizational spirit of the broad poor peasants have been gradually raised to be on a par with the revolutionary proletariat. Land reform has been undertaken, and on this basis, agricultural mutual aid and cooperation have been organized.

Economic reconstruction geared to division of work and cooperation between public economy, cooperative economy,

and private economy, under the over-all leadership of public economy, has been instituted. A cultural and artistic ideological front under proletarian leadership has been developed into the cultural and educational enterprises which serve workers, peasants, and soldiers.

All of these developments have made available a stream of human power, materials, and financial resources needed by the revolution. And moreover, they accumulated and developed revolutionary strength, and enabled the party to acquire rich experience in diverse revolutionary enterprises under its leadership.

Consequently, they afforded long and repeated practices in the work of reconstruction after the revolution has achieved its nationwide victory.

(4)

Owing to the fact that the new democratic revolution has been launched under proletarian leadership, it is therefore an inevitable law of history that this revolution should develop into the socialist revolution.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has dwelled repeatedly on the objective law of the possibility of China's new democratic revolution changing into socialist revolution. He points out that the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution form two revolutionary processes of a different nature. He points out that democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for socialist revolution, while socialist revolution is the inevitable tendency of democratic revolution. He points out that these two revolutionary stages should be linked together, thus it would be impossible to permit the intrusion of a stage of petty bourgeois dictatorship.

It is only by correctly realizing the difference between democratic revolution and socialist revolution, and at the same time, realizing the relations between these two, that we can correctly guide China's revolution. The history of our party is replete with this truism.

During the process of democratic revolution, there are rightist opportunists in our party who set up a "great wall" to separate democratic revolution from socialist revolution, thus denying the Marxist-Leninist theory of incessant revolution and ignoring the trend of change from democratic revolution to socialist revolution. It is their opinion that democratic revolution is a phase of the bourgeoisie, and its success denotes the victory of the bourgeoisie.

Consequently, they advocate that all the work of democratic revolution should be entrusted to political parties of the old bourgeoisie. It is not until after the bourgeois republic has been established and the capitalist economy has developed further that the proletariat will come out to overthrow the bourgeois republic to establish proletarian dictatorship and to realize socialism. This is then the theory of second revolution.

This "theory of second revolution" on the part of rightist opportunists denies the revolutionary leadership of the proletariat. It also denies the role of the proletariat in aligning with the broad mass to seize political power in democratic revolution, thus directly forfeiting the future of socialist revolution and rejecting the Marxist-Leninist theory of incessant revolution. The result of this is to abandon the leadership power of the proletariat, and it will be impossible even to achieve the victory of democratic revolution.

There are "leftist" opportunists in the party who confuse the differences between democratic revolution and socialist revolution. They deny the Marxist-Leninist theory of stages of revolutionary development, and cannot see that it is only by consummating the tasks of democratic revolution, that this revolution can be developed into socialist revolution.

They may perhaps see in the initial victory of democratic revolution in one province or several provinces as the beginning of the practice of socialist revolution already, or they may deem that it is on the basis of implementing socialism that the rule of imperialism and its lackeys--the Kuomintang reactionaries, in China can be overthrown.

This view of consummating democratic revolution on the premise of socialism which is held by "leftist" opportunists directly denies the feasibility of the victory of democratic revolution. Without the nationwide victory of democratic revolution, and in the absence of revolutionary government on a nationwide scope, it will be impossible to produce a revolutionary change. Consequently, this view of the "leftist" opportunists is, in effect, denying the feasibility of socialist revolution.

Contrary to both the right and the "left" opportunists, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has "on one hand, practiced the Marxist-Leninist theory of stages of revolutionary development, thus clearly distinguishing the revolutionary tasks of democratic revolution and socialist revolution, and on the other hand, practiced the Marxist-Leninist theory of incessant revolution, closely linking these two revolutions together."

"Even in the democratic revolution stage, he has done everything possible to prepare the conditions for socialist revolution so that after the democratic revolution has achieved national victory, the struggle for socialist revolution will be unfolded immediately without interruption."

The fact that Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively applied and developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of incessant revolution and theory of stages of revolutionary development is because he has made a concise and scientific analysis of the comparative strength of various political forces of China, both internally and externally.

Internationally, the new democratic revolution in China forms a part of the proletarian socialist world revolution which is now flourishing exuberantly. Moreover, the socialist system has been established and consolidated in the Soviet Union, while the influence of imperialism is heading toward its accelerated withering and death. These are favorable conditions to the transition of democratic revolution into socialist revolution in China.

Domestically, the political leadership of new democratic revolution is exercised by the communist party; its guiding ideology is Marxism-Leninism; its principal class strength is founded on the worker-peasant alliance.

The political power of new democratic revolution is the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class. Following its victory, bureaucratic capital, which dominated China's national economy, has been confiscated under the ownership of the entire people. All of these are socialist factors which furnish favorable prerequisites for changing new democratic revolution to socialist revolution.

Consequently, Comrade Mao Tse-tung writes: "Because they are under the leadership of the proletariat, there are factors of socialism in the politics, economy, and culture of new democracy. These are not ordinary factors, but ones with decisive functions." The decisive function mentioned by Comrade Mao Tse-tung implies that it decides the future of the revolution.

Herein, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has correctly resolved the entire guiding ideology of the Chinese revolution--the question of relations between the system of communist ideology and the programs, strategy, and lines in various stages of Chinese revolution. He has also resolved the question of relations between the theory of incessant revolution and the theory of stages of revolutionary development.

As an ideological system, communism serves as the guiding ideology for new democratic revolution; it is also the guiding ideology for socialist revolution.

From this premise, it will be seen that during the stage of new democratic revolution, our party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung have never abandoned the banner of communism, nor have they concealed their communist world outlook. Contrarily, they have extensively propagated the ideological system of communism and the revolutionary theories of Marxism-Leninism. They have continuously expanded the ideological front of Marxism-Leninism, applying the Marxist-Leninist ideological system as our theoretical weapon in observing problems, settling work, and training cadres.

As a social system, communism forms the highest ideal of us communists, and after undergoing various historic stages of revolution and reconstruction and when conditions mature, communism will be realized finally. How-

ever, during the new democratic revolution when the conditions for communism are not yet ripe, the program and general line of the party should naturally be different from the socialist and communist programs.

This is to enable the mobilization of the mass to focus their energy to consummate the main task in a particular stage of revolution, thus creating the conditions for the revolution to transcend into another stage. This is also to enable the revolution to forge from strength to strength, to transcend from one stage to a higher stage, thus forming an incessant revolutionary process, which is also in keeping with the gradual process of specific developmental stages.

Consequently, the difference between new democratic revolution and socialist revolution is that between them the programs and policy lines are different. There is also difference in their tasks, motive force, and objects. The link between these two is that the core of leadership in these two revolutions is the communist party, while their guiding ideology is the ideology system of communism.

In view of the fact that internally, there are socialist factors in a new democratic revolution which exercise leadership and decisive functions, and externally, it has the help of powerful socialist countries, it is therefore not only completely possible for it to turn into a socialist revolution, but it is also an inevitable law of revolutionary development.

In view of the fact that the leadership core of both new democratic revolution and socialist revolution is the communist party and the communist ideological system forms their guiding ideology, it is therefore the basic guarantee for incessant revolution and for developing new democratic revolution into socialist revolution by consolidating the leadership of the proletariat and by expanding ideological front of Marxism-Leninism.

The basic question of a revolution is the question of political power. Thus, before political power is garnered, the leadership of the proletariat must be realized. After political power has been obtained, it is also necessary to exercise the leadership of the proletariat in order to push revolution to its end, from one victory to another.

It is well known that during the stage of democratic revolution, there can be no success of the revolution if the proletariat refrain from aligning themselves with the broad people to seize political power. After seizing the power, it is still necessary to firmly grasp it, without which the victory of democratic revolution cannot be consolidated, nor will it be possible to change it to a socialist revolution.

Consequently, it has been repeatedly explained by Comrade Mao Tse-tung that the political power to be established by the new democratic revolution must be a people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat.

Later on, he has further stressed that "summing up our experience and focusing it to one point, this is the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class (through the communist party) and based on the worker-peasant alliance."

Ignorant of the important significance of the holding of political power by working class through the communist party, the rightist opportunists advocate that in the democratic revolution, the communist party must not establish its own leadership in state power, nor should it establish such leadership in a socialist revolution. This rightist opportunist view is thoroughly contrary to Marxism-Leninism.

It has been borne out by history that without the leadership of the communist party and its people's democratic dictatorship, it would have been impossible to overthrow the monolithic dictatorship of the Kuomintang reactionaries, to destroy the rule of the three great enemies and suppress the rebellion of these enemies, thereby pushing democratic revolution to its end.

Nor would it have been possible to undertake the struggle of socialist revolution, to overthrow the capitalist system, eliminate classes, and pursue socialist revolution to its end. Nor is it possible to build a strong socialist new China, and to create a new heaven for communism in the future.

Consequently, all genuine Marxists have considered the exercise of leadership by communist party and the dictator-

ship by the proletariat as the main instrument for socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction.

Creatively applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of incessant revolution and theory of stages of revolutionary development, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has, as soon as the time for revolution became opportune, led the entire party, army, and people to thoroughly smash the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, thereby establishing the People's Republic of China which is substantially a dictatorship of the proletariat. He has thus opened a broad road for the launching of socialist revolution, socialist reconstruction, and for transition of China toward communism.

With a view to forging the progress of revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has, on the eve of the nationwide victory of the revolution, pointed out to the entire party that following the victory, the principal conflict between the Chinese people and landlords and bureaucratic capitalists will be replaced by the conflict between working class and bourgeoisie, that is, a conflict between socialism and capitalism. In the meantime, he has prescribed a series of basic policies to resolve this principal conflict.

Consequently, when the People's Republic of China was inaugurated, our party immediately and smoothly realized the changes from democratic revolution to socialist revolution. Although during the first three years since the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic it has been necessary for our party to complete social reforms left over by the democratic revolution (principally land reform and suppression of counterrevolutionaries), to heal the wounds of war and rehabilitate national economy, and coordinating with the resist-America aid-Korea movement, to strengthen our national defense, nevertheless, our party has taken over and confiscated imperialist and bureaucratic capitalist enterprises, set up massive socialist state economy, and through the three-anti and five-anti movements, consolidated the leadership of state economy in national economy.

On the basis of land reform, our party has led the broad peasant mass to embark on the road of agricultural cooperativization. On the basis of giving the leadership to socialist national economy, our party has induced private capitalist enterprises to develop along the line

of the state capitalism, so that the revolution would forge ahead continuously.

At year end 1952, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has further enacted for the party the general line of simultaneously undertaking socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction during the period of transition. This entails the gradual realization by the state of socialist transformation in agriculture, handicraft, and capitalist industry and commerce, as well as the gradual realization of socialist industrialization, so that the contradictions between socialism and capitalism in the means of production can be resolved.

In the realm of socialist transformation of individualist agriculture, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has criticized the view that without mechanization of agriculture, agriculture cannot be cooperativized. In accordance with the concrete conditions of revolutionary development in China, there must be cooperativization before mechanization can be implemented.

Thus, the social reform and technological reform of agriculture are separated into two steps. First, there is social reform as the main thing, coupled with technological reform as subsidiary, and later on, both steps can be taken simultaneously. In this way, while the pace of agricultural cooperativization is greatly enhanced, it can also pave the way for the mechanization and electrification of agriculture.

In the realm of the socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and commerce, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has also criticized various erroneous ideologies of the "left" and right, and according to the concrete conditions in China, adopted diverse forms of state capitalism to systematically transform private capitalist economy into socialist economy.

In short, owing to the wise leadership of the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we have been able, in the space of seven years from 1949 to 1956, to score a great victory of socialist revolution on the economic front, in a great country with a population of 600 million.

Moreover, with the continuous enhancement of the socialist awareness of the people and the continuous growth of socialist production, the pace of revolutionary development has been swift, the social order has been excellent, and the economic life has been stable.

Following the basic consummation of socialist transformation in the system of ownership in the means of production, there are people who consider that socialist revolution has been accomplished, class has become extinct, and the class struggle has been concluded.

Nevertheless, Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out clearly: "although socialist transformation, from the standpoint of ownership system, has been basically completed, yet there are still remnants of the landlords and compradores who have been overthrown, the bourgeoisie remain to exist, and the petty bourgeoisie is in the process of transformation.

Class struggle has not been concluded. There are still protracted, devious, and sometimes even violent class struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the political strength of various parties, and in the concept and pattern between proletariat and bourgeoisie. The proletariat wants to reform the world in accordance with its own world outlook, while the bourgeoisie also wants to reform the world in accordance with its own world outlook. In this respect, the question of whether socialism or capitalism will win has not been really solved."

This is to say that although the socialist transformation in the ownership of means of production has been basically accomplished, thus causing drastic changes in the political and economic situation in China, nevertheless, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not been ended. It is only the shift of the struggle from the economic front to the political and ideological fronts, and in the majority of cases, the reflection of the struggle as internal contradictions of the people.

In accordance with the new situation of this class struggle, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has timely presented the tasks of socialist revolution on the political front and ideological front, as well as the policy for realizing these revolutionary tasks.

Under the guidance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's correct policy, our party has adopted the methods of great contending, great blossoming, large character newspaper, great debate, presentation of facts, and talking of reasons, etc. It has unfolded the rectification movement among all the people, as well as the anti-bourgeois rightist struggle, scoring a decisive victory on the political and ideological front of the socialist revolution.

The all-people's rectification movement and the anti-bourgeois rightist struggle have resulted in greatly enhancing the awareness of socialism and enlarging the front of Marxism-Leninism, thus dealing a decisive blow to the reactionary political and ideological influence of the bourgeoisie.

In this way, the great victory of socialist revolution on the economic front, political front, and ideological front has opened up a broad road for the speedy development of social productivity and the speedy building of socialism, whether in their productive relations or in their superstructure.

Under these conditions, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has therefore enacted the general line of stimulating endeavor, striving for improvement, and massively, speedily, excellently, and economically building for socialism, the developmental pace of great leap forward, and the organizational pattern of the people's commune, which enabled China's socialist reconstruction to garner the splendid achievement of two years of consecutive great leap forward.

The continuous intensification of socialist revolution and the continuous development of socialist reconstruction imply also the continuous approach to communism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has correctly pointed out the differences between socialist principle and communist principle. He has also profoundly reflected the close link between socialism and communism.

The socialist society is not a society without changes: it stands for the transitional stage from capitalism to communism. The continuous development and continuous march of socialist society have for their goal the transcending toward communism.

Consequently, the growing of communist embryos in a socialist society is inevitable. The attitude of the true Marxist-Leninist and true proletarian revolutionist toward these nascent things is not ridicule, attack, or destruction, but is exuberant love and active nurture. The attitude of the true Marxist-Leninist and true proletarian revolutionist toward socialism is not one which stagnates with what has been acquired in socialism, but pushes socialist revolution to its end, by continuously changing and continuously developing so as to create the material and spiritual prerequisites for gradual transition toward the higher stage of communism.

The general line of socialist reconstruction and the policy of the great leap forward and the people's commune enacted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung are based on this premise. History has proven and will continue to prove that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's general line of socialist reconstruction, developmental pace of great leap forward, and organizational pattern of the people's commune are the three great weapons for the acceleration of socialist reconstruction and the effective and concrete road on which to gradually transcend toward communism.

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The Chinese revolution has vindicated Comrade Mao Tse-tung's scientific vision of several decades ago; it has also borne out that the Mao Tse-tung ideology is fraught with the universal truth of the most creative Marxism-Leninism. Whether in the most arduous years of the revolution, or during the time of the revolutionary victory, Mao Tse-tung's ideology has been the lighthouse which illuminated the forward march of Chinese people.

Inasmuch as Marxism-Leninism has been developed through struggle, the same is true with Mao Tse-tung's ideology. During the past thirty years, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has waged a protracted struggle against diverse reactionary ideas outside the communist party.

He has also waged protracted, complex, and incongruous struggles within the party against various forms of

opportunism, overcoming three times of "leftist" opportunism during the period of democratic revolution; and smashing the Kao-jac anti-party alliance during the period of socialist revolution as well as the rightist opportunism during the great leap forward in socialist reconstruction.

It has been proven by historical experience that the Mao Tse-tung ideology is the quintessence of the times; it is the most creative and invincible ideological weapon of Marxism-Leninism. The flag of Mao Tse-tung ideology is the flag of victory, the glorious flag. Under this flag, the people of China have defeated two of the most formidable imperialistic powers in the world (the United States of America and Japan), overthrown the most sinister reactionaries in Chinese history (Kuomintang reactionaries), and in the most populous semi-colonial and semi-feudal country of the world, scored a great victory in democratic revolution, socialist revolution, and socialist reconstruction.

The higher and more conspicuously the flag of Mao Tse-tung ideology is raised, the greater will be the achievement of revolution and reconstruction on the part of the Chinese people. It has been so in the past; it is so today, it will be so tomorrow.

Consequently, with a view to speedily developing China into a prosperous, strong, and great socialist country with modernized industry, modernized agriculture, modernized science and culture, and modernized national defense, we must march forward raising ever higher the red flag of Mao Tse-tung ideology.

**A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE GREAT
SIGNIFICANCE OF PRODUCTION, DIS-
TRIBUTION, AND USE OF NATIONAL
INCOME IN SOCIALIST ECONOMY**

[The following is a full translation of an article written by Yang Chien-pai appearing in Hsin Chien-she, No 3, 1960, pages 12-18, a monthly magazine published by the Hsin Chien-she Tsa-chih She, Peiping, 7 March 1960.]

The speedy growth of national income concretely reflects the basic demands of the general line and man's overwhelming zest of endeavor.

National income comprises the newly created material wealth by laborers of material productive departments during a fixed period of time. Consequently, the total of the net production value of the various material production departments (industry, agriculture, building and construction, transport postal and telegraph enterprises, and commerce) is the national income of the entire society.

National income forms a portion of the gross products of society. In point of real commodity, it is that portion of newly created material wealth from the gross products of society after the deduction of material waste. In point of value, it is that portion of newly created value from the gross value of products of society after the deduction of transferred value.

As national income forms the newly created fruits of productive laborers of the entire society on a particular material basis, it therefore reflects concentratedly the function of man in production. Thus, the greater the endeavor of men is, the greater will be the growth of national income rate.

The various departments of China's national economy have registered phenomenal development during the consecutive great leap forward in 1958 and 1959. The national income of 1958 shows an increase of 62.86 percent over 1957, and compared with 1949, there is an increase

of 3.2 times during the decade. Such rapid growth in national income is not only unprecedented in Chinese history, but it is also impossible for capitalist countries to catch up with.

Take the United States of America for instance, their national income during the 1929-1958 period, calculated in comparable prices, has increased only 1.1 times (quoted from Textbook on Politics and Economics, third edition, in Russian, page 460, compiled by the economic research institute of the Academy of Sciences of USSR).

That China's national income has registered such phenomenal increase is due to the fact that our party, under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's ideology, has led the people to overthrow the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism in China, establishing a people's democratic dictatorship that is led by the working class and based on worker-peasant alliance. During these ten years, the people of China have garnered a great victory in their struggle against domestic and foreign foes and on the economic, political, and ideological front of the socialist revolution.

All of these accomplishments have opened up a broad road for the speedy development of social productivity. Especially in accordance with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory for the correct handling of the internal contradictions of the people, productive relations have been continuously revamped and improved, so that the superstructure has been adjusted continuously to cope with the demands of the economic base.

During the last two years, there have been derived from the experience of socialist reconstruction the three great weapons comprising the general line for building socialism, the developmental pace of the great leap forward, and the organizational pattern of people's communes. They have further vindicated the over-all and consecutive great leap forward in China's socialist reconstruction. It is on this basis of over-all great leap forward that the speedy growth of national income has been realized.

As we all know, high speed development forms the basic demand in the general line of China's socialist reconstruction. The target of struggle envisaged by the

general line is to make China, as quickly as possible, a socialist power with modern industry, modern agriculture, modern science and culture, and modern national defense. The spirit and substance of the general line is to thoroughly implement the mass line, and to fully mobilize the mass of the people to actively and creatively accelerate the pace of socialist reconstruction.

The positiveness of 650 million people is an extremely colossal creative force. Consequently, in order to build socialism massively, rapidly, excellently, and economically, it is necessary to stimulate endeavor, strive for improvement, and fully develop the functions of man. Of course, this must be geared to objective laws on a specific material basis. It is our view that in the statistical indices reflecting the planning of socialist economic development, this general index of national income can more comprehensively and accurately realize this basic demand of the general line and man's overwhelming spirit of endeavor.

Socialist economy calls for the reflection of changes in the development of national income through diverse economic indices. However, it is only with the general indices of the gross products of society and national income that we can reflect the changes in the development of the entire national economy. In these two general indices, the index of national income can more accurately and more truly reflect the demands of the general line and the functions of man.

First, the great leap forward of national economy is to be found principally in the huge increase of newly created material wealth. The strengthening of national economic sinews, the development of socialist economy, and the elevation of the people's standard of living are all conditional by the speedy increase of national income as their only source.

Consequently, in studying the development of national economy during a particular period, it is not only necessary to study the gross volume of social products, but what is more important, we should also study the amount of newly created material wealth and its speed of growth.

It is only by stimulating endeavor and striving for improvement that more newly created wealth can be made available, that better economic results can be achieved, and the amount of materials for use can become more plentiful. This is a truism that needs no elaboration. On the basis of this principle, we can see that the national income index has its unique point compared to the index of gross products of society.

The gross value of social products is the total of the gross production value of all material production departments. In the gross production value should be included material waste (or transfer value). Thus, there is bound to be repetitious accounting in the gross production value calculated in accordance with the "factory law." Especially when enterprises operate separately or are merged, there will be differences in value when the gross production value is shown, although their volume of products remain the same.

For example, when such processes as iron mining, iron milling, steel milling, and steel rolling are split up into separate enterprises, their gross production will be greater. However, in a synthetic enterprise like the Anshan Steel Mill, the gross production value will be smaller. Also, when cotton spinning, weaving, and dyeing enterprises are set up separately, their gross production value will be greater, but when they are combined as a single unit, their gross production value will be smaller.

Thus, it may not completely and accurately reflect the conditions of development by using the gross production value to show the speed and scope of production. On the contrary, since national income is the total of the net production value of all material production departments, it has already deducted the material waste for repetitious calculation. What it shows represents the newly created value and newly created material wealth during a fixed period of time, and so it can more accurately indicate the increase in national economic strength, and better demonstrate the function of stimulating endeavor and striving for improvement.

Second, to create as much material as possible with as little labor as possible is a principle which we must observe at all time. National income not only can re-

flect the growth of newly created material wealth, but in the meantime, it is possible to observe whether or not the material waste is economical from a comparative study of gross social production value and national income. Economy in material waste helps to increase the real substantive volume of national income, which is tantamount to the increase of materials for accumulation and for consumption. This means that the increase of production for national income should not only be abundant and rapid, but it should be good and economical.

During the process of socialist industrialization, there seems to be a tendency of increase in the ratio of material waste in social production. This means that during the same time, the raw material utilized by labor has been increased, thus showing further advance in technology.

On the other hand, in the mass movement for higher production and greater economy, owing to the retrenchment on old materials or the use of new ones--the more economic material or machinery, coupled with the strengthening of management control, there is also the tendency of curtailing material waste and reducing costs. In this opposing and complementing contradiction, the object is to economize labor-saving labor and living labor in order to achieve greater economic fruits.

All of these depend on the calculation of national income, and through the comparative study of national income and the gross products of society, we can observe the economic effects of labor saving in the entire society. This question cannot be explained if we have only the index of gross production value.

Third, while both the index of gross production value and the index of net production value can reflect the speed and scope of various departments in the realistic economy, nevertheless, the net production value can reflect more accurately the position and function of each department.

From the actual conditions of China, it will be seen that there are different trends in the component departments which use gross production value and those which use net production value. For example, calculated in gross

production value, the ratio between industry and agriculture in 1959 is 67.6 to 32.4; but calculated in net production value, the ratio of agriculture is still slightly greater than industry.

This is because the material waste in industrial departments is greater than the material waste in agricultural department. A similar situation obtains within the industry itself. For instance, the material waste of light industry is greater than that of heavy industry, and the material waste of processing industry is greater than that of extracting industry, etc., so there will be difference in the rate of growth shown by gross production value and that shown by net production value.

In China's national economy, agriculture forms the basis, while industry is the main thing. Under the general line, and under the premise of developing heavy industry first, industrial development is to be undertaken simultaneously with agricultural development, and heavy industry and light industry are also to be undertaken simultaneously.

Consequently, to accurately reflect the position and function of agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry in the real economy, calculation in net production value will better cater to the demands of the general line.

Fourth, national income index can also show the position and function of different ownership systems in social production. By social reproduction is meant not only the reproduction of social products, but it implies the reproduction of production relations and labor force. From the social composition of national income production, it is possible to reflect more accurately the position and function of various ownership systems in the real economy.

In China's national income production, the changes in the ratio (percentage) of the various economic components are as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>State Economy</u>	<u>Cooperative Economy</u>	<u>Public- Private Jointly Operated Economy</u>	<u>Capita- list Economy</u>	<u>Individual Economy</u>
1952	19.1	1.5	0.7	6.9	71.8
1955	28.0	14.1	2.8	3.5	51.6
1956	32.2	53.4	7.3	--	7.1
1957	33.2	56.4	7.6	--	2.8

From this table, it will be seen that we have realized successfully our socialist revolution on the economic front as early as 1956. When this condition is studied together with the speed in the growth of national income, it will be seen that the colossal development of China's national economy has occurred following the decisive victory of socialist revolution on the economic, political, and ideological front. The emergence of the people's communalization in rural villages in 1958 has further pushed the great leap forward of national economy.

China's capitalist economy has been converted into public-private joint operation comprising entire trade and guild, and it will be further transformed into state operated economy. At present, collective ownership is practiced in the communal economy, and it must be led further toward the all-people's ownership system. It is only with the aid of the indices of national income that these changes can be shown accurately.

Moreover, the centrally operated state economy and locally operated state economy constitute also a pattern of social composition, and similarly, their position and function can only be truthfully reflected by the indices of national income.

Fifth, the speedy growth of national income has been made possible by fully mobilizing the positiveness and creativeness of the people of the nation. In short, it entails the increase of the volume of labor and the en-

hancement of social labor productivity. Although China is a populous country, nevertheless, since the great leap forward of 1958, there has been no longer a surplus of labor force, but an insufficiency has been experienced.

In the newly augmented national income, the ratio of increase made possible by raising labor productivity has also been very great. The potentiality for hiking labor productivity is unlimited, and hereafter, this task is bound to become more and more important.

Following the extensive unfolding of the mass movement which is guided by revolutionary ideology, and has for its focal point the improvement of technology, the social labor productivity will be enhanced incessantly. There will be even greater leap forward in the increase of national income. So, when we say that our national income has grown rapidly, it is tantamount to saying that the overwhelming zest of human endeavor has been fully demonstrated.

Finally, we must point out that by stressing the significance and function of net production value, we do not mean to depreciate the significance and function of gross production value. In point of fact, each economic index has its own unique function. The index of gross production value is geared to the real commodity volume of social products.

In social production, there is no product which includes only living labor and not material-converted labor. Consequently, it is only by using the gross production value that we can show the gross turnover of social products, and it is only through this that the links and interchanges between the several departments of national economy can be concretely reflected.

Moreover, when we calculate national income according to production methods, we must also use the gross production value as basis. The reason why we stress the function of net production value is because, on certain material basis, it can reflect more accurately the results of labor (living labor) that has been newly thrown into the material production departments. Thus, it will be more accurately cater to the demands of the general line and the human function in production.

Naturally, both the gross production value and the net production value have to be calculated by currency. Thus, whether the price of a product is realistic or not can influence the results of calculation. Moreover, there is a certain gap between calculation according to irrevocable price and calculation according to current price. There is also the question as to whether the method of calculation is entirely scientific. All of these have to be resolved and studied both practically and theoretically.

The distribution and re-distribution of national income form an important phase in correctly settling the internal contradictions of the people economically.

Social production is carried out in the unity of productive force and productive relations. Distribution forms an important aspect of productive relations. Marx says: "Production is the beginning, consumption the end, and distribution and exchange the middle." (Criticism on Politics and Economics, Jen-min Ch'u-pan She, 1955, page 152)

Marx also says: "In society, when a product is finished, the relation between the producer and the product becomes an extraneous thing. The return of the product to its principal depends on other personal relations. He does not directly use the product. If he produces in society, it is also not his object to directly use his product. Between production and consumption, there is distribution. By means of social laws, distribution decides his share in the world of products, thus it is placed between production and consumption." (op. cit., page 152)

The distribution relation is conditioned first of all on the ownership system for the means of production. In the system of national economy, production forms a decisive factor. There can be no domination by exchange and consumption, and the distribution of products has also no dominant position. But if we are adept in handling distribution--which is the medium between production and consumption, it will be very useful to the correct arrangement of production and consumption in dealing with real economic questions.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has creatively presented the theory of correctly settling the internal contradictions of the people. He has made a comprehensive, profound, and systematic analysis of the relations between productive relations and productive force. He points out that even in a socialist society where the interests of the people are basically unified, there is still contradiction. Consequently, he deems it necessary to incessantly develop and improve socialist productive relations.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out: "Objectively, there will exist for a long time the contradiction between social production and social needs, and this must be adjusted by the people through national planning." (Mao Tse-tung: "Concerning the question of correctly settling internal contradictions of the people.")

One of the questions in distribution relations is the satisfying of the practical needs of society. With a view to correctly settling the internal contradictions of the people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has enacted the policy of unified planning and paying equal regard to make proper arrangement, from the standpoint of the 600 million people of China.

He points out especially: "In making plans, in doing things, and in considering problems, we must start from the premise of the 600 million people of China. This point we must not forget." (Mao Tse-tung: "Concerning the question of correctly settling the internal contradictions of the people.") This, then, is our compass in dealing with the relations of distribution.

From the standpoint of the entire national economy, the correct settling of distribution relations entail not only the question of distribution of concrete products. What is more important is the correct settling of the question of distribution and re-distribution of national income. It will be possible for us to basically resolve the economic side of the internal contradictions of the people if we can grasp firmly this central phase and pay due regard to national interest, collective interest, and personal interest.

National income is produced by the material production departments, and it is used by the entire society. Con-

sequently, after national income has been created, we must immediately undertake distribution (to be distinguished from re-distribution, it is also called initial distribution), and then re-distribution.

The initial distribution of national income is the distribution which occurs in material production departments, in enterprises adopting the all-people's ownership system, in communes adopting the collective ownership system, and among producers individually. Through this initial distribution, it becomes the primary income of enterprises, communes, and individuals.

In order to insure the needs for enlarging reproduction and for collective consumption of society, it is necessary to deduct the outlays of these two needs from the national income, before it can be distributed among individuals. With the exception of what is paid up to the national treasury through re-distribution, the primary income of enterprises or communes is generally spent for the enlargement of reproduction and public undertakings of the respective units themselves. Consequently, during the process of initial distribution, we should take into consideration the 600 million people by paying due regard to national interest, collective interest, and personal interest.

On the basis of the initial distribution of primary income, the re-distribution of national income occurs in the state, in enterprises, in communes, and among individual residents. It also occurs in the complex and complicated transfers and exchanges in the productive realm or non-productive realm.

The re-distribution of national income in China is usually carried out through the financial budget of the state in which the revenues of enterprise with all-people's ownership system and communes with collective ownership system are paid to the state as profits or taxes to become financial income of the state. No personal income tax is collected in China, but the state or the local government may issue reconstruction bonds to augment financial revenues.

The financial income of the state is used, either in the pattern of investment for capital construction (prin-

cipally), in order to return to production departments, or as national defense expenditures, administrative expenditures, cultural and educational funds, or social insurance funds. A large portion of this income is returned to the inhabitants directly, while expenditures for national defense and government administration are for the purpose of strengthening the people's democratic dictatorship.

Thus, it will be seen that China's national finance is obtained from the people and used for the people. This is just as what Lenin says: under socialism, "surplus products do not belong to the private owners, but they belong to the entire laborers, and to them only." (Lenin's review "On Bukharin's 'The economy of the period of transition,'" Jan-min Ch'u-p'an She, page 42) Consequently, the national interest, collective interest, and personal interest are basically unified.

Another pattern of the re-distribution of national income is the non-productive service payment of individuals or the collective. This is also the labor exchange between the productive realm and non-productive realm.

After re-distribution, national income becomes the final income of the state, collectives, individuals, as well as the productive and non-productive realms.

In a socialist society, the distribution among individuals is based on the principle of doing what one can, and distribution in accordance with labor. This is due largely to the restriction of the level of productivity in a society where social production is not yet too abundant. In the meantime, it is also due to the fact that the flaws of the capitalist society are still retained in the socialist society, and the ideology and awareness of the people have not yet attained a high level of communist society.

However, since our object and ideal is to transcend toward communism, our system of distribution must also be brought from the basis of doing what one can and distribution in accordance with labor to the one of doing what one can and distribution in accordance with needs.

Consequently, during the socialist stage, it is imperative for us to implement the spirit of incessant revolution in distribution relations so that the communist factor of distribution according to need will be fostered and gradually increased. In this connection, the most important thing to do is to make politics in command, to energetically promote the communist labor attitude of each doing what he can without bickering for reward, instead of making distribution in accordance with labor a fixed institution.

Grasp ideology, grasp production, grasp living, correctly arrange the proportion between accumulation and consumption relationships. There are two facets in the use of final income which has been formed after the re-distribution of national income, namely: accumulation and consumption.

The accumulated fund is used for productive reconstruction; the consumption fund is used directly for the livelihood of the people. Consequently, to deal with the relations between accumulation and consumption, there is involved the question of mutual relations of distribution between the development of productive force and productive relations.

Consequently, the guiding principle is that we must take into consideration China's 600 million population by unified planning, by paying equal regard, by making proper arrangements, in respect to national interest, collective interest, and individual interest.

The basic purpose of socialist production is to incessantly raise the standard of living of the people. In the preamble of the constitution of the Chinese Communist Party, it is stated that "the basic purpose of all work of the party is to satisfy the people's needs in material life and cultural life to the largest extent, and consequently, on the basis of developing production, we must gradually and incessantly improve the living conditions of the people. This is also the prerequisite in enhancing the productive positiveness of the people."

Thus, to use national income for consumption is to take into consideration the 600 million population, and

is for the interest of the people; and similarly to use national income for accumulation is also to take into consideration the 600 million population, and is for the interest of the people. What is different is that while consumption indicates the current interest accumulation is for permanent interest.

The basic characteristic of the law of accumulation under socialism is that, on the basis of continuous and speedy expansion of socialist reproduction accumulation helps to gradually and continuously raise the people's standard of living, so that productive reconstruction and the people's livelihood can advance together. It runs entirely counter to the law of capital accumulation in a socialist society where the surplus value is capitalized, exploitation becomes more acute, and the poverty of the proletariat is aggravated.

Take the actual conditions in China for example. During the First Five-Year planning period, national income has increased 53 percent, accumulation fund increased 97 percent, and consumption fund increased 38 percent. In the new increment of national income, about 60 percent has been used for consumption.

During 1958, national income registered an increase of 34 percent over 1957, accumulation fund increased 97 percent, and the level of consumption, according to the per capita average, increased 7.8 percent, in which the consumption level of peasants increased more than 10 percent.

During 1959, national income increased 21.6 percent, the average wage of staff and workers (not including new ones) increased about five percent, the labor insurance fund, medical expenses, and collective welfare funds increased 16 percent strong and the average income of members of people's communes in rural villages increased about 10 percent.

From the above figures, it will be seen that the increase of accumulation fund in China is greater than the increase of consumption fund. Especially in 1958 and 1959 great leap forward, the scope of increase in the accumulation fund is even more substantial.

However, in the meantime, the living level of the people has also been raised phenomenally, there being no lowering of the standard because accumulation has been increased. We can say without exaggeration that the consumption level of the people according to population average has increased some seven percent to 10 percent each year, which represents really an unprecedented leap.

As proven by the practice of China's socialist reconstruction, during a year when the increase of national income is fast, the speed of increase in the accumulation fund can also be accelerated and the ratio of accumulation can also be higher. In this way, it is not only possible to hasten the great leap of production, but the level of consumption can also be raised more rapidly.

While the enhancement of the level of living is based on the enlargement of reproduction, increase of accumulation forms the source for expanding reproduction. Unless we can holdly increase accumulation (naturally, such increase should have for its premise the elevation of the people's living standard), and unless we can expand reproduction with the pace of the great leap forward, it will be futile to talk about the raising of living standard.

When the rate of increase in accumulation is greater than the rate of increase in consumption, the accumulation will be proportionately raised. There are people who worry about the proportionate increase in accumulation. Experience bears out that the accumulation ratio cannot remain unchanged nor should it be fixed. Why should we worry about the increase in accumulation ratio, if the continued increase in the living standard of the people according to population average can be maintained? The result of this is bound to accelerate the further leap forward of production, thus commensurably improving the living standard.

The use of accumulation fund and consumption fund must be based on real commodities. With a view to insuring the continuous expansion of socialist production and the continuous enhancement of the people's livelihood, we must therefore strengthen the party's leadership, stringently grasp ideology, grasp production, and grasp living.

In this connection, we must correctly arrange the speed of development and the relations of proportion between agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry in keeping with the demands of the general line. Also, we must commensurably develop communications and transportation, commerce, science, and cultural and educational enterprises.

The use of accumulation forms a basic question involving the full development of productive force. China's national economy is based on agriculture, with industry as its main thing. Consequently, it is necessary to stringently grasp production by actively developing agriculture, and the industry which services agriculture, by strengthening the research in advanced technology, and by energetically establishing modernized mammoth enterprises with new technology.

In the meantime, it is necessary to coordinate large and key reconstruction with medium and small enterprises which use simple methods for production.

By developing industry which services agriculture, it will push the development of agriculture, while the massive development of agriculture is bound to accelerate the rapid growth of industry.

The adoption of new technology will bring about the enhancement in labor productivity and in the quality and quantity of products, while the simultaneous development of enterprise of large, medium, and small types and the introduction of both indigenous and foreign methods will help to win time and speed.

Between productive reconstruction and non-productive reconstruction, the former should be made the principal, while certain non-productive reconstruction may be undertaken simultaneously. In distributing fixed assets and current assets, a reasonable proportion of current assets must be maintained, and a balance should be kept. All of these are beneficial to the current interest of the Chinese people, and withal, they are also useful to their permanent interest.

Simultaneous with the realization of communalization and the further leap forward in production in China's

rural villages, the ratio of accumulation by communes has also been greatly increased. In 1959, the public accumulation of the people's communes reached some 10 billion yuan, or about 20 percent of the net production value of communes. Such a stupendous accumulation fund, when planned unifiedly and used rationally by the communes, will not only effectively insure the continuous great leap forward in communal production, but it will also create favorable conditions for transition toward the all-people's ownership system.

The use of consumption fund forms a basic question involving the continuous raising of the people's living standard. Consequently, while we stringently grasp production, we must also stringently grasp living.

For the present, the living standard of the Chinese people is still low, though compared with the past, there has been salient improvement. Pragmatism tells us that the great leap in production is a decisive factor in raising the standard of living. However, this standard can only be raised gradually, and unless we massively develop production, the needs for consumption can never be satisfied.

Owing to the different levels of productive force in industry and agriculture, the living standard of the workers is higher than that of the peasants. This phenomenon cannot be resolved within a short period of time. However, owing to the great leap forward in agricultural production during the last two years, the gap in the living standard between workers and peasants has been reduced gradually.

During the great leap forward in 1958 and 1959, the ratio of collective consumption has made further progress. The ratio of average collective consumption by peasants has exceeded the ratio of collective consumption by workers and staff. Collective consumption is a communist factor which savors of the character of distribution according to needs. The continuous growth of this factor has thus paved the way for transition from each doing what he can and distribution in accordance with labor to each doing what he can and distribution according to needs.

With a view to enabling the broad mass to correctly comprehend the relations between accumulation and consumption, namely the relations between productive reconstruction and the people's livelihood, and to fully develop their positiveness and creativeness to accelerate socialist reconstruction, it is necessary to strengthen ideological education while correctly settling the relations between accumulation and consumption.

The Chinese people are industrious and courageous. After steeling themselves in long struggles of democratic revolution, socialist revolution, and socialist reconstruction, the ideological awareness of the people has been considerably advanced. If the politics in command is implemented and communist education is strengthened, they will no longer bicker for their personal interest and present interest.

Our slogan is: endure temporary hardship, enjoy ten thousand years of happiness. Our great ideal is communism. We must apply the high communist awareness and lofty communist style to develop our overwhelming endeavor and our selfless labor, in order to accelerate China's socialist reconstruction and to hasten the transition from socialism to communism.

**STRUGGLE FOR THE THOROUGH
EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN**

[The following is a full translation of an editorial appearing in Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien, No 5, 1960, pages 2-3, a semi-monthly published by the Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Ch'u-pan She, Peiping, 1 March, 1960.]

With the imminence of the fiftieth anniversary of the "March 8" International Laboring Women's Day, laboring women of the entire world are greeting this great and glorious occasion with the utmost elation.

The "March 8" Women's Day is the day commemorating women of the world who seek emancipation. In the past fifty years, the women of the world have waged a gallant struggle to oppose aggression, defend peace, resist oppression, and strive for women's emancipation, and by now, they have scored a tremendous victory.

Women of the socialist countries forming one-third of the world's women have been emancipated, and are no longer subject to the oppression and aggrandisement of the exploiting class. Women of the nationalistic states have also unshackled the rule of colonialism. Now, in Asia, in Africa, and in Latin America, the struggle for national independence and for the emancipation of women is still being valiantly pursued. Further strides are also being made by women of all countries in the struggle to defend peace, to oppose the war preparations of imperialistic powers, to secure democracy, and to oppose reactionary government.

During these fifty years, the movement for emancipation of women in China has also undergone a glorious process. Since the "May 4" Movement which turned a new page in the movement for emancipation of women, the women of China have, under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and along with the entire people, gone through an arduous struggle which resulted eventually in destroying the reactionary rule and in setting up the People's Republic of China. Thereafter, socialist revolution has been launched to eliminate the exploitative system, thus

eradicating the social origins of women's oppressions and enabling them to obtain greater emancipation.

It behooves us to point out especially that thanks to the enacting of the general line of socialist reconstruction by the party, the realization of the great leap forward, and the creation of the social pattern of people's communes, a new situation which is unprecedentedly favorable to the thorough emancipation of women has emerged.

As has been said by Ts'ai Ch'ang, chairman of the All-China Women's Union, in her report to the second executive meeting of the third congress of the Union: "Under these fortuitous circumstances, several million women have gone from their homes into factories, and several ten millions of women have embarked on the agricultural production front and other work posts."

"The broad masses of women have rapidly and universally participated in social labor. They are asking us to quickly resolve the contradictions between collective production and individual consumption, while the new productive force and productive relations (the great leap forward and the people's communes) have furnished favorable conditions for the resolution of these contradictions."

"Consequently, several hundred thousand and several million public mess halls, nurseries, and kindergartens which cater to collective welfare, have rapidly emerged. Women have been emancipated from their family chores to participate in social labor."

"There have been drastic changes in the spirit and outlook of women after undergoing the steeling of such collective labor and collective living, and after years of partisan education. In the past they were confined within their families: with narrow views and circumspect ideas; but now they are concerned with the affairs of the state, participate actively in national reconstruction, and their socialist awareness has been conspicuously enhanced, so that wherever the party directs them to, there they would go. All of these indicate that the women movement in China has begun to reach a new stage of thorough emancipation."

As we celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the "March 8" Women's Day, we should lustily cheer for the new stage of thorough emancipation in the women's movement of China. In the meantime, we also hope that the young women of China, together with the entire women and the entire people, would raise the three red flags to struggle for the continuous leap forward of our national economy.

We fully believe that as the people of China have discovered the road for speedy development of national economy, as they have found the socialist organizational pattern of transition from socialism to communism, and as they have also found the path for the thorough emancipation of women, it is now entirely possible that in the not too distant future, our women will gradually extinguish the backward conditions politically, ideologically, culturally, as well as in working ability which they have inherited from history, and following the victory of socialism and communism, the thorough emancipation of women will be realized in China.

To consummate this great and glorious task, the broad masses of young women must, first of all, cherish the great ambition of the proletariat by ceaselessly revolting and struggling for the realization of communism.

Although we are firmly convinced that socialism has brought great benefits to women, we must, nevertheless, not be satisfied with socialism. We must realize that even in the socialist society, there remain still the residual blemishes and flaws of the old society stemming from the vestiges of bourgeois regime; the system of distribution according to labor is still adhered to; and neither the production nor the cultural level has been sufficiently enhanced. These conditions cannot but affect the economic and cultural standards of women, as well as their thorough emancipation.

It is only in a communist society that public economy can be developed comprehensively, that home labor can be thoroughly be freed from the burdens of home chores. It is only in a communist society that the principle of "according to his ability to each according to his needs" can be implemented, that women will not be handicapped by their physical limitations, thus affecting their enjoyment of complete equal treatment with men economically.

And it is only in a communist society that production will be highly mechanized and automatic, so that women can forge more effectively in production.

Similarly, it is only when the greatest progress has been made in communism, culture, and education that women will finally be freed from their cultural and technological backwardness inherited from history to attain the fullest enhancement in culture and technology. Thus, we deem that if young women want to win their thorough emancipation, they should then make communism their goal of struggle.

Inasmuch as the women of China have been oppressed more heavily than men in old society, they are therefore even more resolved to shake off their fetters and to revolt to the end. That our women of today so enthusiastically endorse the new things and so courageously break off old traditions serves to demonstrate this resolution.

On the other hand, we must also perceive that under the heavy oppression of the exploitative class for millenniums, the women of China have lived in the prisons that were their home. This condition brought certain setbacks to women which they have not yet completely overcome: namely, they are comparatively short-sighted, narrow-minded; they dread hard work and fear struggle; they are easily content, and lack ambitions. If we want to gain complete emancipation, it is necessary for us to continue to get rid of the fetters that constrain us, break the obstacles ideological which prevent us to forge ahead, and inheriting the glorious revolutionary tradition of Chinese women, march briskly toward communism.

Next, we must devote our whole spirit and energy to socialist reconstruction enterprises, thus forming the idea which emphasizes collective enterprises, and relegates family problems to secondary position. Lenin says: "The emancipation of laboring women should be the business of the laboring women themselves." It is only by wholeheartedly devoting themselves to socialist reconstruction that women can hasten social progress, exalt themselves in the process of struggle, thus creating the conditions, both subjective and objective, for their own emancipation.

In order to be able to devote their entire strength to socialist reconstruction enterprises, women must, first

of all, rid the idea of making their home their own special little heaven, and of engrossing themselves with miscellaneous home chores. For women to constantly concern themselves with family affairs and to place family life in a position of primary importance is a remnant idea and habit of old society, which forms the principal obstacle to women's progress.

Engels says: "The emancipation of women is feasible only when they can massively and socially participate in production, and when their home work occupies very little of their time."

It is immediately not possible to free ourselves from miscellaneous home chores. Certain prerequisites must be created. However, it is entirely possible to surmount our heavy family concepts ideologically. Many of our women have set excellent examples in this direction. There are some women who, though participating in work, still retain heavy family concepts, and they constantly spend much effort for miscellaneous family affairs. This not only prevents them from making greater contributions to society, but also will prevent them from achieving genuine emancipation.

Consequently, women who seek thorough emancipation must conquer in themselves the old ideological effects and forces of habit in order to free themselves from the small circle of individual and family and to plunge enthusiastically into the socialist reconstruction enterprises.

Thirdly, we must break off superstitions, curb inferiority complex, and forge the style of communism. Dare-to-imagine, to-say, and to-do is the communist style in this age of great leap forward. This is also the most precious factor for the acceleration of socialist reconstruction. It is even more important for women to develop such a style. During millenniums in Chinese society, women were despised and men respected.

After all kinds of debasements and humiliations, there has been developed in women an inferiority complex. Some women are of the idea that they are not as good as men; what men cannot do, it is naturally beyond women; and what men can do, women may not be able to do so well. Unless

this psychological factor is cut, it is bound to affect the positivity and creativeness of women.

In point of fact, in Chinese history and in real life, the conduct of many outstanding women can be cited to destroy this superstition. There appeared in Chinese history such remarkable women like Pan Chao, Liang Hung-yu, and Hung Hsuan-chiao which proves that women made as great contributions as men. Especially since liberation, women heroic models on various battle fronts have emerged, some of them making the most valuable contributions. This bespeaks even more effectively that the women of China under the leadership and fostering of the Communist Party and through their own endeavors can march together with men to form a formidable team in developing socialism and communism.

The women of China are now confronted with a favorable situation. With the further intensification of the general line, great leap forward, and people's communes, the people of China are exerting their best effort for further improvement, and a many-splendored and better and greater situation of leap forward has emerged in socialist reconstruction. This shows that in the 1960's, we will achieve more magnificent results.

Under the new and auspicious conditions, we hope the young women comrades of China will continue to ride on the wings of victory to make greater effort and to strive for greater targets in order to hasten socialist reconstruction and to struggle for the realization of the great ideal of communism, to struggle for the thorough emancipation of women. We must further align with women of the world who love peace and progressive enterprises to struggle for the defence of peace, opposition to aggressive war of colonialism, and for the thorough emancipation of women of all the world.

INTENSIFY THE EDUCATION ON CURRENT
TRENDS AMONG THE YOUTH

[The following is the full translation of a commentary appearing in the Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien, No 5, 1960, pages 3-4, Peiping, 1 March 1960.]

At present the broad youth in China are showing tremendous interest in the current trends in international and domestic situation. Besides reading newspapers daily, many youth actively discuss and study some of the important policy problems of current events.

Many of our [youth] corps have also timely strengthened the education of current trends among the youth. Some of these organizations are coordinating the movement for studying Chairman Mao's writings closely with the study of current trends, thus teaching youth how to apply Mao Tse-tung's ideology in analyzing international and domestic situations. These are auspicious phenomena worthy of our promotion.

To launch the education on trends forms an important phase in the ideological education of our corps. What constitutes a trend? Principally, it is about the class struggle in China and abroad. Trend education is an important education on class struggle.

We intensify the trend education among youth in order to guide them to be interested in the development of trends, in the changes in current situation, so that in the complex struggle on the international and domestic scenes, they will be able to distinguish between right and wrong and grasp the correct tendency, thus further enhancing their class awareness as well as forging their patriotism and internationalism.

The coordination of trend education among youth with the discussions on Mao Tse-tung's writings is also an important method in studying the Mao Tse-tung ideology. As we all know, the study of the Mao ideology should be closely geared to pragmatism. What is the pragmatic? One

kind of pragmatism is the concrete work which each of us perform, while the other kind is to be found in the important political struggles; both international and domestic.

Between these two, there are links as well as differences. In studying theory, we must link it with practice: which implies that while Marxist-Leninist viewpoint must be used to resolve the various contradictions confronting our daily work and life, the same must also be used to observe the grave international and domestic political struggles.

At present, many youth are paying close attention to link their study of Chairman Mao's writings with their own work. For instance, some of the sales clerks, after studying Chairman Mao's writings, have applied certain viewpoints in these writings to resolve and analyse some of their work problems, and consequently they have improved their service attitude and enhanced their service quality. Naturally, this is a very correct study method.

However, as the study becomes more advanced, it will behoove us to emulate Mao's ideology to observe and comprehend the more important problems. Herein, the political struggles on the international and domestic scenes are envisaged.

Chairman Mao has said: "If you can use the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism to clarify one or two practical questions, you would be applauded, because you have made certain achievement. The more things you clarify, and the more general and more penetrating you clarify them, the greater will be your achievement."

Continuing, he said he wanted to set up a rule in the party, that is: "after a student has studied Marxism-Leninism, how is he going to look at the problem of China? Some can see it clearly, others cannot; some will know how to do it, others will not know. In this way, we will be able to distinguish the apt from the inept, the good from the bad."

We should observe Chairman Mao's direction by coordinating theoretical study with the recognition of international and domestic trends, with the discussion and implementation of the party's general line, policies, and

tasks, so that we can gradually enhance the level of Marxism-Leninism and further comprehend the Mao Tse-tung ideology.

The intensification of political trends education among youth has also important bearing on forging positiveness in production and in work, as well as in further consuming same. We are aware that the higher the political awareness of the youth is, their labor enthusiasm is bound to be greater.

With a clear understanding of international and domestic situation, the broad youth of China, seeing that the international situation is favorable to peace, democracy, and socialism, and that the domestic situation is fraught with prosperity, will confidently link their labor with the international and domestic struggle, and share the same destiny and community of interest with the people of their own country and of the world by coordinating their excellent labor with this struggle.

It is of course incorrect to think that the duty of the youth is just to listen to the injunctions of the party and to consummate production, since the affairs of state are in the hands of the party and state authorities. By thus neglecting the important significance of trend education, the result is that youth will be deprived of political understanding. They will be shortsighted, and become wavering whenever there is a political crisis. It will be impossible to enhance their awareness or to forge their productive positivity.

We should realize that the Communist Youth Corps is not a general organization, but is a school in which to conduct Marxist education among youth. We shall be neglecting politics if we allow youth to be engrossed in production, but fail to induce them to be concerned with political problems. Such a course is contrary to the basic policy of the corps.

Of course, this is not to say that the corps may relax its work of mobilizing youth for production actively. Since the consummation of production is the foremost political task of youth, it is incumbent on the corps to demonstrate its positive functions in this aspect. But it is also unquestionably true that if production and

education can be emphasized together, production will be promoted even more effectively.

In order to consummate this work, it is necessary for the organization of the corps to constantly study the ideological reactions of youth in respect to the current trends so that specific education may be conducted. What is more important is that among cadres in the corps, the atmosphere of concern for important international and domestic events, constant study of theories, and discussions on current trends, be fostered.

It is only after the corps cadres have learned these things themselves that they will be able to lead the youth and to set examples to push in this study. At specific meetings of the leadership organs of the corps, it is not only necessary to discuss questions concerning concrete work, but also to discuss current trends, and to study the theories and policies of the party.

It is only by comprehending international and domestic situation that we will be better able to grasp the direction and policy of the party, to fix the direction of our work, and to more effectively carry out political education among youth.

Generally speaking, our corps cadres do have these fine qualities: they observe directives of the party, and they are full of working zest. In order to further enhance the work level of the corps, and to cope with the needs of the national trend, our youth corps should not only have the zest of endeavor, but it must also foster the atmosphere for study. It is only by so doing that we can more effectively raise our working and theoretical level to consummate the tasks entrusted by the party.

WHAT IS THE IDEAL LIFE OF
REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH?

[This is the full translation of a reader's letter appearing in Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien, No 5, 1960, pages 36-37, Peiping, 1 March 1960.]

Reader Hsiao Wen, in his letter to the editorial department of this publication, raises the question of how should a youth live. This seems to be a rather significant question. What kind of life should we revolutionaries lead? Should we be content with status quo in order to live leisurely, complacently, and comfortably, or should we plunge ourselves into the burning struggle to live in tense combat?

Comrade Hsiao Wen deems that since "the object of our revolution is to have a happy life," we should "revolt peacefully and steadfastly and reconstruct leisurely and comfortably" now that a great victory has been achieved in China's socialist reconstruction. "Why should we build socialism and communism if it is only for others, while the Communist has to belabor and study every day, making his life so tense and so strained?" Is this kind of thinking correct?

We feel that these questions involve a series of fundamental questions on what kind of life outlook and world outlook our youth should have, and also on whether they wish to be warriors for the proletarian revolution.

As the people of China are now confidently, exuberantly, and intensively belaboring themselves to build a more glorious fatherland, the solution of these questions will have urgent and realistic significance in enhancing the ideological awareness of the youth, in encouraging them to cherish revolutionary ambitions, and in positively bringing them into socialist reconstruction.

Consequently, with the consent of Comrade Hsiao Wen, we are publishing this letter, and we hope our readers would enthusiastically participate in the discussions by writing to us their own views. It is best that each letter

should concentrate on one single question, and its contents should be concrete and profound. Please mark on your letter "discussion of questions," and keep a draft copy for yourself. The editor.

Editorial Comrade:

Now, everybody seems to be discussing how to cherish ambitions, assault the targets, and scale the summit. I have been tempted to emulate the example. But in the depth of my thought, there are something ulcerous which defy operation. I wish to tell you my thoughts, hoping to have your help.

A female office cadre, I joined my work since my graduation in senior high school 1952. Fraught with fervent enthusiasm, I worked hard, put a stringent test on myself, and during the years, I have made strides in ideology and in work following the ceaseless development of the reconstruction of socialist enterprises. I joined the [Youth] Corps; and from the novice that I was originally, I have become competent professionally.

My monthly wage is neither too much nor too meager, and after my living expenses, I can manage a little surplus. About three years ago, I married a comrade who is superior in ability. We lived happily, and now we have a girl who is two-year old. She is lovely, and she adds immeasurably to our happiness. I have always thought that a life like ours is fortunate, testifying to the superiority of socialism.

I have also cherished such a beautiful hope: with one five-year plan following another, production will grow continuously, supplies of goods and materials will be more plentiful, wages will be increased, time of labor will be cut, and livelihood will be constantly improved.

By then, our small family will be happier than now. We shall live in a foreign-style house, where the furniture is excellent: with book shelves, radio, and television. After work, I and my lover [husband], or at least one of us, shall bring home some fresh fruits and tasty chocolates. Sitting together on plush sofa, we shall watch or read, or listen to radio, or take in a movie at some

cinema. On Sunday, our daughter will come back from the nursery so we can bring her to the park or to the market, shopping for some practical things.

There is no ambition in me or my lover; we neither want to render great merits to garner more reward from the people, nor do we cherish the flippant life of the bourgeoisie. What we hope is a life of such small comfort, improving as time goes on. We consider tranquillity is happiness and relaxation the greatest enjoyment.

Naturally, we do not oppose socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction. But the best is to revolt peacefully and steadfastly and reconstruct leisurely and comfortably, instead of living constantly in the whirlpool of some great storm and hurricane.

If it should be impossible to avoid such combat life in our working post, we hope nevertheless that the home can be a placid harbor in which to lead a free, easy, and relaxed life. However, our ideal has been criticized by our surrounding comrades, and moreover, it contradicts with real life. So, we cannot but feel distressed at times.

Take my work for example. I feel that over the years, I have shown myself not too badly. Although because of the illness of my child, I took too many leaves, and sometimes, I lacked concentration in my work worrying about the little one, in general, I have been positive and never slacked in working hours. Though my work was not outstanding, there has never been a time when I did not consummate my target, and my work level has been forged constantly.

However, my comrades said my work lacked initiative and creativeness, and that I failed to give my best energy. I will not say that the criticism of these comrades is incorrect, it being realized that to demand something more from an individual is permissible, and for one to impose a stringent demand on himself is also reasonable. But there seems to be no end to such a demand. After improving, there is always room for further improvement. Moreover, the conditions of each individual differ, and no single norm of measurement can be applied.

I feel that if I do not slack and improvise, if I honestly perform the tasks assigned to me by my organization and content myself with being a small screw or cog by offering what strength I have, I will be considered a good servant of the people. With this spirit I have constantly demanded myself.

Being still young, I see a long future ahead of me, and I do not want to sacrifice my health in my youth which is bound to render me prematurely senile and will not pay off in the long run. While I admire the spirit of our leadership comrades who occupy themselves with work considerations all day long with no time for recess and amusement, I cannot envy their life. When I say so, it does not mean that I take a mercenary attitude in my work. In special exigencies and when blitz work is arranged by the authorities, I can do what they did, but in ordinary circumstances, it seems to be all right to finish work in an eight-hour day.

There is no end to revolutionary task. After the completion of one, there will come a new one. No matter how much you endeavor, it will be impossible to consummate the work at one stroke. Then why make yourself so tense?

Recently, the leadership has time and again called on everybody to study, while the branches of the party and the corps also take study very seriously. It is a good thing to study. As the demands of work grow everyday, we cannot but study. However, I feel also this is a very heavy burden. This is because the work is already very arduous, and coupled with study, plus the leap forward, it will become all the more strenuous, and to do so will make life more tense than ever.

Consequently, the thought occurs to me that study being a long range task, like a small stream that flows far, it cannot be pursued too abruptly or too ambitiously. I have no penchant to become a specialist; nor do I want to reach the summit. I will be satisfied if I can understand the general requisite knowledge and theory to meet the basic demands of my work. When I see that some of our comrades are so engrossed in their work and study as to forsake the pleasure of seeing a movie or when they squeeze time out to study even during holidays, I cannot but feel that their life is too monotonous.

Owing to the tension of study, my placid life has been disrupted. Although it has been stressed by the leadership that no extra shift and extra work hour would be imposed, there are however several days in the month when we have to cramp for our tasks. Although study being a personal matter, one should be able to arrange his own schedule; nevertheless, the corps wants to hold debate and discussion meetings, and calls for the enactment of special study plans, all of which make one feel a sense of tension.

There are other burdens which are extra-curricular. For instance, meetings are often held in evenings. It may last hours. I cannot but feel chagrined when such meetings are held too frequently and over too long a period of time. Why don't they arrange the meetings as far as possible during daytime? Why should someone talk endlessly?

On some Sundays, voluntary labor is organized by the office. Although I have to join it, there cannot but be some reluctance. Collective activities are often sponsored. It is definitely no good for me not to go, but if I go, I cannot but feel it would be much more fun to spend the time with my lover and my child. On these matters, I often got advices from comrades which made me all the more confused.

I deem that the object of our revolution is to give us a happy life. During the era of revolutionary war, it was completely mandatory for us to scale snow-bound mountains, march over grasslands, forsake our homes to engage in protracted fighting. If I were under these circumstances, I would have fought arduously without complaint.

However, conditions now have changed drastically. Internationally, the east wind has overwhelmed the west wind, and no longer are we scared of imperialism. Domestically, after a decade of national reconstruction, there has been phenomenal development in all enterprises, resulting in the basic improvement of the livelihood of the broad mass. Under these conditions, we are completely justified to lead a comfortable life while we engage in reconstruction.

Some comrades are prone to mention the motion picture entitled "New Biography of a Veteran Soldier," stressing

that the solicitousness of men like Lao Chan who assiduously strive for the welfare of the next generation is worthy of our emulation. I feel that while the spirit of Lao Chan is commendable, yet if one should serve the people like him who, after developing one place, would immediately go to another to develop there, completely depriving himself of family life in his bustling, what meaning is there in life?

We communists are not ascetic monks. Revolution and reconstruction should be both for the future and the present, for the people and for self. We should labor, reconstruct, and create, and meantime, we should enjoy the fruits of labor creation. If it is merely for others that we build socialism and communism, and the lot of the communist is merely to labor and to study, thus making life so dry and so exhausted, then, what is the use of building socialism and communism?

I have examined these questions during this rectification study. Comrade criticize me as lacking the ideal and ambition of the revolutionist, as being content with status quo, personal happiness, and a small comfortable home, and say this is the question of my world outlook. Truly, when I see how others are so fraught with confidence, so full of endeavor, and labor so selflessly I also feel there is considerable distance between me and the demands of the times, and their criticism of me is right. However, when I am confronted with these concrete questions, I seem somewhat perplexed. I urgently hope to get your help.

I salute you.

Hsiao Wen, a reader from
Hupeh.

WE WANT INCESSANT REVOLUTION AND ADVANCEMENT

Study Chairman Mao's Theory on Coordination Between the Theory of Incessant Revolution and the Theory of Stages of Revolutionary Development

[The following is a full translation of an article written by Chang Hsiang-shan appearing in Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien, No. 6, pages 21-24, peiping, 16 march 1960..]

The principle of coordination between the theory of incessant revolution and the theory of stages of revolutionary development is an important and basic principle in the treasury of Marxism-Leninism. It also forms the theoretical basis for the proletarian political party to enact its revolutionary strategy and tactics.

Chairman Mao, the great people's leader of China, has been adept in coordinating the Marxist-Leninist theory of incessant revolution and the theory of stages of revolutionary development, and adapting them to Chinese conditions; he has resolved a series of basic questions concerning China's new democratic revolution, socialist revolution, and socialist reconstruction, as well as her transition toward Communism, all under proletarian leadership. He has thus led the Chinese revolution and her socialist reconstruction enterprises from one victory to another, thereby enriching and advancing this important principle of Marxism-Leninism.

Consequently, to form an important component in our study of Mao Tse-tung's ideology, we must study the principle of coordination between the theory of incessant revolution and the theory of stages of revolutionary development which he has so creatively applied and developed.

What are the theory of incessant revolution and the theory of stages of revolutionary development?

What is the theory of incessant revolution? The Marxist says that the development from the present society towards Communist society is an inevitable trend in history.

Instead of being separated by an insurmountable great wall, there are interrelationships, links, and infusions between the bourgeois democratic revolution and socialist revolution under the leadership of the proletariat, and between socialism and communism.

We Communists seek the realization of the highest goal of Communism, and consequently, in consummating the first revolutionary task, we are preparing the conditions for the next revolution. After one revolutionary task has been consummated, we will begin immediately to launch another revolution, so that revolutions may incessantly and uninterruptedly forge ahead.

What is the theory of stages of revolutionary development? The Marxist says that the development from present society towards Communist society cannot be achieved by a single step. In the entire revolutionary process for the realization of Communism, there exist diverse and avarying revolutionary stages.

Each stage has its own special characteristics, and we can only proceed orderly, one stage after another, by consummating the revolutionary tasks of the various stages in order to attain communist society.

From the above simple statement, it will be seen that the theory of incessant revolution and the theory of stages of revolutionary development are not two unrelated principles; but are the two components of Marxist principle closely coordinated together in respect to the theory of revolutionary development.

Thus, if we should talk about the theory of incessant revolution without reference to the theory of stages of revolutionary development, the result will be to confuse the steps of revolution, and to reduce our efforts for prevailing tasks. It will be impossible for us to achieve Communism, and moreover, there will be no so-called theory of incessant revolution."

On the other hand, if we should talk about the theory of stages of revolutionary development without reference to the theory of incessant revolution, there will be stagnation in the revolution. The revolutionary directions will be confused.

Naturally, we will not achieve communism. Moreover, the revolution of this stage will not become a stage of revolutionary development, which is tantamount to denying the theory of stages of revolutionary development.

Consequently, what the Marxists call the theory of incessant revolution comprises usually the theory of stages of revolutionary development: these two being geared together.

The theory of incessant revolution and the theory of stages of revolutionary development are not the work of fancy, but they constitute the reflection of the law of development of things. Chairman Mao has often said that in the things of the universe (nature and society) there exist two opposing sides of contradiction: they unify and they struggle, thus producing the incessant movements and developing changes of things. The theory of incessant revolution reflects exactly this basic law of social development.

In addition to basic contradictions, there exist in things other contradictions, big or small, and when basic contradictions are catalyzed in their process of development, some of the other contradictions, under the regulation or influence of these basic contradictions, either catalyze, or are stabilized, or are partially resolved.

Under these conditions, although the nature of the basic contradictions have not produced basic changes, indeed being merely in a state of quantitative mutation, yet in this process of general quantitative mutation, there has developed a partially qualitative mutation, and thus a new stage appears in the process of contradictions.

Following the continued development of basic contradictions, basic changes will appear eventually: from quantitative mutation to qualitative mutation, thus with new contradictions (new things) replacing old contradictions (old things). In this way, another stage character is developed in the development of things. The theory of stages of revolutionary development therefore reflects the law that there is a stage character in social development.

According to what we have said above, the things in the entire world develop incessantly and change incessantly, and in this process of development and change, varying stages, big or small, emerge. This is the world outlook--our basic viewpoint vis a vis the world. It is our methodology to use this viewpoint to study and analyze and resolve things. Thus, to reflect the law of the incessant development of things and to analyze and resolve things in accordance with this law as embodied in the theory of incessant revolution and theory of stages of revolutionary development forms the realization of our Marxist world outlook and methodology!

Chairman Mao has pointed out the correct direction of the struggle of the Chinese people.

Chairman Mao has creatively applied the principle of unity between the theory of incessant revolution and the theory of stages of revolutionary development to resolve the question of development in Chinese revolution independently.

The Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao were the first to point out that communism is the glorious future of China; that it is the final goal of our revolution; and that it is our highest ideal.

In order to realize this ideal, Chairman Mao has, on the basis of the special characteristics of China as a semi-colonial and semi-feudalistic society, and according to the theory of incessant revolution and the theory of stages of revolutionary development, discovered this "inevitable road" for the people of China to forge ahead.

In Chairman Mao's words, the Chinese revolution must be pursued in two steps: "the first step is new democracy, and the second step socialism." He has also pointed out that "these are two revolutionary processes of different nature; it is by completing the first that we can consummate the latter revolutionary process."

With a view to accomplishing the first revolutionary procedure, Chairman Mao enacted the general line of new democratic revolution, namely: "the revolution of the people and mass against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism under proletarian leadership."

Chairman Mao pointed out not only that the Chinese revolution should first of all consummate democratic revolution, but based on the principle of the theory of stages of revolutionary development, he pointed out that in the democratic revolution, there will be several developmental stages. In the meantime, in accordance with the various different stages--for example, the three domestic revolutionary wars and the anti-Japanese war (and in these stages were included smaller stages, for instance, there being three stages in the anti-Japanese war), he has, one after another, enacted new tasks for each new stage, in order to push the advance of the revolution.

Chairman Mao said: "When a certain objective process has developed from one stage to another in which changes are made, it is necessary that all those who participate in the revolution should subjectively follow these development and changes, that is, the enactment of new revolutionary tasks and new work programs should be adapted to the new, changed conditions. Changes of the conditions during the revolutionary period are abrupt, and unless the recognition of revolutionary partisans can change rapidly, they will not be able to lead the revolution to victory."

Chairman Mao has on one hand distinguished the different natures of new democratic revolution and socialist revolution, and on the other hand, he pointed out these two revolutions were not unrelated. Pointing out the relationships between these two, he said: "democratic revolution is the necessary prerequisite for socialist revolution, and socialist revolution is the inevitable tendency of democratic revolution." "We are believers in revolutionary changes, and we advocate changing the democratic revolution into socialism."

These views of Chairman Mao show that the Chinese Communists have not forgotten for a single moment during the democratic revolutionary stage the mammoth goal of realizing socialism, and it was for the realization of socialism that the new democratic revolution was undertaken.

On the other hand, inasmuch as the new democratic revolution has been launched under proletarian leadership, so, following its success, it has become possible for the

socialist factors to make gigantic strides. The winning of political power by the proletariat has furnished the necessary prerequisites for socialism, and socialist revolution became an inevitable trend. We thus garnered the opportunity of entering into the stage of socialist revolution.

In his writings entitled "On the strategy of opposing Japanese imperialism," "Struggle for winning thousands and millions of the mass to enter the anti-Japanese national united front," "China's revolution and the Chinese Communist Party," "On new democracy," "On coalition government," and "On the people's democratic dictatorship," etc., Chairman Mao has made creative discussions concerning the two stages of the Chinese revolution and the question of change from democratic revolution to socialist revolution.

He has also sharply criticized the deviations of both the "left" and the right opportunists who failed to understand the principle of coordination between the theory of incessant revolution and the theory of stages of revolutionary development. It is under the guidance of these great theories that the people of China have garnered the victory of the new democratic revolution.

The question of China's socialist revolution, socialist reconstruction, and transition toward communism.

After the accomplishment of the new democratic revolution in China, Chairman Mao, based on the principle of the theory of incessant revolution and the theory of stages of revolutionary development, has further resolved the question of China's socialist revolution and socialist reconstruction. In the meantime, he has also elucidated the question of China's transition from socialism to communism, and moreover, he has discovered the concrete road for such a transition.

The victory of the new democratic revolution marks the inauguration of the People's Republic of China, and withal, the beginning of socialist revolution. This judgment of Chairman Mao fully illustrates the ideological brilliance of the theory of incessant revolution. In accordance with this ideology, which is coupled with the theory of stages of revolutionary development, China's socialist revolution has been undertaken orderly stage by stage.

First of all, Chairman Mao has prescribed the general tasks of the party during the transition which is the "realization on a national scope the gradual socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry, and capitalist industry and commerce and the gradual realization of state socialist industrialization. In this way, the question of the victory of socialism, as related to ownership system, over capitalism on the economic front has been satisfactorily resolved.

After the basic conclusion of the socialist revolution on economic front, Chairman Mao has further proclaimed the revolution on the political front and ideological front, thus pushing the revolution one step further. This revolution has greatly curtailed the impact of the exploitative class in China politically and ideologically, thus greatly stimulating the initiative and positiveness of the people and mass in socialist reconstruction.

In this way, the economic foundations of socialism have been consolidated and developed from their superstructure [source]. Chairman Mao has made another great contribution by extending the socialist revolution deeply into the realm of politics and ideology.

The society to be built through socialism is a socialist society. This society, instead of having an independent social economic pattern, has the same pattern as the communist society. In both societies, the means of production are publicly owned, and their national economy is systematically and rapidly developed. The purpose of production is to fulfill the entire social needs.

However, as socialism emerges from a capitalist society, its level of productive force is bound to be lower than that of a communist society, and also, there cannot but be remnant flaws of the old society. For instance, in distribution, the method of "each doing what he can, and distribution by labor" is adhered to. After eliminating the exploiters, there remain the differences between workers and peasants, cities and villages, and mental labor and manual labor, thus retaining the vestiges of power from bourgeois society.

When the communist society emerges, there will be tremendous advancement in productive force. The distri-

bution method of each doing his best and taking what he needs will be possible. The various differences in society will be extinguished, and the power of bourgeois society will be conquered entirely.

Thus, although socialist society differs basically from capitalist society, and in fact, it is a good society, yet it is still not a mature communist society--being the initial stage of communism, or a transitional society leading toward communism.

One of the most basic questions in leading the people of China to strive for communism is to recognize the differences and relations between a socialist society and a communist society. In this connection, the resolution of the Central Committee of the party concerning the setting up of people's communes and the resolution adopted by the sixth plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Eighth Congress give important directions on the above question.

The former resolution says: "our task in the present stage is to build socialism," and "to build socialism is for the sake of actively making preparations for transition toward communism."

The latter resolution says: "On the question of transition from socialism to communism, we cannot stop at the socialist stage, but also we cannot dwell in the fancy of skipping the socialist stage to leap to the communist stage. We Marxist-Leninists are believers of the theory of incessant revolution. We deem that there is no insurmountable great wall between democratic revolution and socialist revolution, and between socialism and communism. We are also believers of the Marxist-Leninist theory of stages of revolutionary development. We deem that the qualitative changes reflected by things of the varying developmental stages should not be confused with stages of varying qualities."

Under the above ideological premises, Chairman Mao, in the process of his leadership for socialist reconstruction, has given us three wonderful weapons, namely: the general line of "stimulating the zest of endeavor, striving for improvement, and massively, rapidly, ex-

cellently, and economically building for socialism," the great leap forward in national economy, and the movement of communalization.

In substance, these three weapons have been designed to resolve a series of questions in China's socialist reconstruction from the following three directions. Meanwhile, they prepare and pave the concrete way for China's transitions toward communism.

(1) Speedily develop social productivity and realize socialist industrialization planning!

Inasmuch as man is the most positive factor in productivity, Chairman Mao has asked us to realize that the people of China have the urgent wish of freeing themselves from "poverty." Pursuant to this wish, we should forge our positiveness and initiative in socialist reconstruction in order to hasten the development of productivity. In the meantime, Chairman Mao enjoins us that in order to speedily forge productivity, we must adopt the policy of "walking with both legs" and implement the policy of technological revolution and building the nation assiduously and frugally.

China's productivity is bound to forge ahead speedily in keeping with the continued leap forward in national economy, and consequently, we will be able to consummate socialist reconstruction and to comprehensively lay the material foundations for transition to communism.

(2) In accordance with the principle of adaptability and contradiction between productive force and productive relations under the system of socialism, we must incessantly adjust and revamp socialist productive relations to push the phenomenal development of productive force.

The people's commune movement under Chairman Mao's leadership has not only greatly liberated the productivity of China, but it has sounded the death knell of capitalism and the residues of individual economy.

In the people's communes is discovered the road of transition from collective ownership system toward the people's ownership system in socialism and the all-

people's ownership system in communism. The people's commune is also gradually eliminating the characteristic differences between workers and peasants, cities and villages, and manual labor and mental labor.

While still the basic organization in rural villages in China, the people's communes will be the organizational pattern in the transition from socialism to communism. This shows that in the process of socialist reconstruction, China has unprecedentedly discovered the concrete road of transition from socialism to communism.

In order to incessantly improve and adjust productive relations, we have, under Chairman Mao's directives, carried out the policy of great communist cooperation, such as the sending of cadres to the countryside and the practice of liang-ch'an i-kai san-chieh-ho. In the realm of distribution, though we must observe the principle of each doing what he can and distribution in accordance with labor, yet its development must be restricted.

Consequently, politics in command has been put in the first place, while material encouragement is relegated to the second, and in the process of distribution by labor, we have constantly increased the communist factors of distribution, thus helping the course of transition toward communism.

(3) In accordance with the principle of adaptability and contradiction between superstructure and economic foundations under socialism, we should incessantly resolve their contradictions so that the superstructures can incessantly adapt itself to the development of the foundation, thus making the psychological preparations for communism.

For this reason, Chairman Mao has advocated politics in command, insisted on party's leadership, and brought out the question of correctly settling the internal contradictions of the people. Through the policy of rectification and "one-hundred flowers blooming and one-hundred schools contending," socialist revolution on the political and ideological front has been waged thoroughly. We have also incessantly surmounted certain defects in our systems such as overcoming bureaucratism, revising

outmoded regulations, undertaking cultural revolution, and enforcing new educational policies. By these measures, we have hastened the development of our foundations.

In the meantime, we have also greatly enhanced the moral outlook of Chinese people under communism, by gradually reducing and eliminating the qualitative differences between mental labor and manual labor. Thus, simultaneous with socialist reconstruction, spiritual prerequisites have been created for transition toward communism.

From the above introduction, it will be seen that Chairman Mao, in building socialism, has also pushed the socialist revolution to its end, and moreover, he made preparations for communism in the succeeding stage. Thus, he has genuinely consummated the work of coordinating incessant revolution with stages of revolutionary development as embodied in these theories.

In China's socialist revolution, socialist reconstruction, and transition toward communism, there have appeared many "leftist" and rightist viewpoints which violate the principle of coordination between the theory of incessant revolution and the theory of stages of revolutionary development, and therefore, are also contrary to Mao Tse-tung's ideology.

However, inasmuch as the Mao Tse-tung ideology in the Chinese Communist Party has since long been recognized as invincible, consequently, these "leftist" and rightist viewpoints could found no market, and under the leadership of the Central Committee of the party and Chairman Mao, they were soon overcome.

Chairman Mao has made other contributions to the theory of incessant revolution and the theory of stages of revolutionary development as well. For instance, in the theory of incessant revolution, the crux is to win the leadership of the proletariat. Also, in applying these theories, we have to implement leadership through mass line. Owing to limitation of space, these questions will not be discussed in details here.

Apply the ideology of coordination between the theory of incessant revolution and the theory of stages of revolutionary development in our practical work.

There is a great and realistic significance in studying Chairman Mao's example of applying the principle of coordination between the theory of incessant revolution and the theory of stages of revolutionary development, in accordance with conditions in China. This will have the effect of enhancing our ideological recognition and improving our work.

Inasmuch as our era has to pass through incessant revolutions, namely, that stage after stage of revolution must be consummated to reach communism, it is axiomatic that every revolutionary youth should the ideology of incessant revolution--which is also the realization of the highest ideal of communism. We must love the greatness of socialism and communism; we must admire the merits of socialism and communism; and then confidently, resolutely, and speedily consummate China's socialist reconstruction, build her into a communist society, and finally, along with the peoples of the world, struggle for the victory of communism on a world scope.

Naturally, in doing so, we will encounter more difficulties and greater hardships than we have had before in our revolution. But as the communist enterprise is one which is in keeping with time and tide, and which can be realized eventually, our difficulties are therefore surmountable. Under the wise leadership of the Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the people of China should, emulating his lofty and courageous example, and his imaginative, outspoken, and audacious Communist style, boldly confront and resolve all difficulties. We are bound to accomplish our revolutionary tasks from strength to strength and to realize the great ideal of communism.

In order to endow ourselves with the great ambition for the realization of communism, it is necessary for us to incessantly remold our ideology with the theory of incessant revolution, so that we can follow the progress of the situation ideologically, and forge ahead constantly. It should be pointed out that all non-proletarian ideas are stumbling blocks against our espousing the theory of incessant revolution and preventing us from cherishing ambition for communism.

People who cherish bourgeois individualism are solicitous of personal fame and profit; they are lazy and in-

dolent; and they are fond of the flippant pleasures of eating, drinking, and playing. Their ideology is completely alien to the communist ideology of love for the collective and for labor.

In our socialist society, the individualists will not get what they seek, and consequently, they will feel nostalgic toward their society of yesterday, hostile and antagonistic toward the society of today, and drift into the quagmire of the bourgeois rightists.

People who have the ideology of small private ownership are generally content with status quo, and like the middle road. They feel that their life has reached the zenith, and no change is needed. They dread changes and tensions, and are vicarious in preserving their "happiness" and "tranquillity" and they do not hope for the new communist tomorrow. Thus, they will not be able to keep pace with the progress of society, and become obstacles to the progress.

It is thus clear that if our young comrades wish to be genuine communists, they must apply the theory of incessant revolution to incessantly destroy all kinds of non-proletarian ideology, and to prevent the lagging of their ideology behind actual conditions.

Chairman Mao says: "in the process of building the socialist society, everybody needs reform," and this ideological reform "cannot cease eternally."

The theory of incessant revolution is not only the weapon for ideological remolding, it is also the weapon to reform and renovate our work and production. If every revolutionary youth is armed ideologically with the theory, he will no longer be content with his achievement, but will use all available advantages to forge his positiveness and initiative, to arduously revamp his work and production, and to enhance his work and production from one stage to another until they reach the pinnacle. In this way, greater contributions will be made to China's socialist reconstruction and communism.

As said above, communism is to be achieved through revolution and reconstruction stage by stage. Consequently, it is incumbent on our youth, under the stimu-

lation of the great communist ideal, to fervently and effectively consummate all tasks prescribed by the party during the period of socialist reconstruction.

Our party has already presented to us the target of struggle for the Chinese people during the 1960's. This target calls for the catching up with or overtaking of Great Britain in principal industrial products, the basic establishment of complete industrial system, and the basic modernization of China's industry, agriculture, and science and culture, so that China will become a strong socialist power.

In order to achieve this goal, we must, each of us in our work post, forge our greatest subjective ability to undertake tense and arduous labor and study for the fulfillment of the tasks of the current stage. Without this concerted effort, we will not be able to consummate this general task, nor can we push our nation toward communism.

There are people who, while giving lip service to ambitions, communism, etc., they are nevertheless too conceited and look down upon their current tasks or take their work irresponsibly and recklessly. They are apparently wrong. In falsely bragging about communism, they are really what Lenin calls the dud cannons of the revolution, but not genuine communists. We should all oppose them.

"The slogan of combat for the working class is incessant revolution." This is what the Central Committee of the party and Chairman Mao have taught us. We should carry out Chairman Mao's direction by arming our brain with the theory of incessant revolution to guide our work and production. Let us carry out incessant revolution, and forge ahead incessantly!

ON CURRENT U. S. FOREIGN POLICY

[The following is a translation of the full text of an article written by Tsui Ch'i and T'an Wen-jur appearing in Shih-chieh Chi-shih, Peiping, No. 6, 1960, published on 20 March 1960, pp 4-12.]

(Editor's Note: the problem whether there is a change in U. S. foreign policy has recently become one of the controversial issues on the forum of world opinion. Western commentators are of the opinion that there seems to be a fundamental change in U. S. foreign policy for it has abandoned its policy of war and the attempt "to overthrow Soviet Russia's Communist system." Instead, it is carrying out a policy of peace. The U. S. government propaganda agency -- the U. S. Information Service -- also says that U. S. foreign policy has entered upon "a new stage."

Are these views in agreement with facts? Has America's foreign policy or the way of implementing her foreign policy changed at all? If there are changes in some places, why and what for? This article is meant to answer these questions.)

Has U. S. Foreign Policy Changed?

Some Tactics Are Changed

In recent years, some tactics employed by the U. S. in implementing her foreign policy are definitely different from those in the past. The difference is shown in the following respects:

First, there are more talks about peace by responsible officials in the United States. Since the end of World War II, the ruling bloc in the United States has engaged in making naked war threats and launching fanatic "cold war." After the inauguration of the Eisenhower regime, there have been incessant loud clamors for so-called "massive retaliation," "brink of war," "preventive war," "annihilation of the Soviet Union by nuclear weapon," "liberation of Eastern Europe by a freedom crusade," etc. But now, the

responsible officials of the U.S. Government have changed their tone, reiterating that the U.S. is "sincere in seeking peace," "earnestly wishing to relax world tension," and "trying to attain a thawing of the cold war."

Eisenhower once said: "It should be affirmed that the preservation of world peace is an imperative task at the moment." U.S. Secretary of State Christian Herter said that the U.S. and the Soviet Union can co-exist on the basis of "peaceful competition," and "on some basic points, they may even find themselves talking the same language."

Of course, the American imperialists had talked about peace in the past, but never so fantastically as now. Therefore, in view of American official pronouncements and propaganda, there is really some change.

Second, the U.S. has expressed its willingness to negotiate with the Soviet Union and even on a "long term" basis while, in the past, she had always relied upon its own "strength" to settle international disputes. Since the U.S. was compelled to take part in the 1955 Big Four Conference in Geneva, John Foster Dulles had made it known again and again that high-level talks with the Soviet Union were harmful to the U.S.. He put it bluntly: "We don't want to negotiate with them." This attitude of flat refusal to negotiate has undergone some change since the beginning of 1958.

The joint communique issued on 28 September 1959 by Eisenhower and Khrushchev at Camp David said that "all unsettled international problems should not be resolved by force but by peaceful negotiation." By the end of 1959, a decision was reached at a four-nation conference on the convocation of a East-West summit meeting as proposed by the Soviet Union.

Third, the U.S. has expressed its willingness to have cultural exchange with the Soviet Union and shown great interest in "personnel exchange." In the past, the U.S. put up an iron curtain between herself and socialist countries, opposing proposals on closer contact and cultural exchange between herself and the Soviet Union. However, in the year past, a change took place. Following the visits of Comrade Anastas Mikoyan and Comrade Frol R. Kozlov to

the U.S., Comrade Khrushchev visited the U.S., Vice President Richard Nixon also visited the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union held an exhibition in New York, and the U.S. reciprocated with an exhibition in Moscow. Meanwhile, a new agreement on U.S.-Soviet cultural exchange was signed. In 1960, President Eisenhower will pay a state visit to the Soviet Union to reciprocate Comrade Khrushchev's visit to the U.S. According to Vice-President Nixon, there will be 10,000 Americans visiting the Soviet Union in 1960. In short, there is a definite change in the pattern of U.S. diplomatic activities toward the Soviet Union.

In the light of this situation, can we draw the conclusion that there is a change in the basic policy of the U.S.? Of course, No. Because whatever peaceful pronouncements or whatever changes in the procedure of negotiation or in the pattern of diplomatic activities cannot affect a nation's basic policy. Such changes are only matters of methods and tactics.

Nevertheless, even changes in methods and tactics deserve welcome so long as they are helpful to world peace. But, so far, the U.S. has only talked about peace and has not taken any action favorable to world peace. Although the U.S. has expressed her willingness to negotiate with the Soviet Union, yet on all important international disputes and on all issues of great significance to world peace, such as disarmament, end of nuclear tests, elimination of military bases in foreign countries, the German peace treaty and the Berlin problem, the U.S. has not made any positive proposals.

America's pattern of diplomatic activities toward the Soviet Union may have changed, but she has not abandoned her hostility toward the Soviet Union and the fundamental policy of attempting to annihilate the socialist camp. On the contrary, she is employing all sorts of new tactics to carry out her war and aggressive policy pursued ever since the end of World War II in an attempt to realize her ambition of foreign expansion and world conquest.

No Change In Basic Policy

The basic U.S. foreign policy since the end of World War II can be generally described as consisting of the following:

(1) Frantic arms expansion, maintaining a "position of strength," creating cold war crises and tensions, and preparing a new aggressive war;

(2) engaging in all kinds of activities aimed at destroying the socialist camp, and clamoring for the "liberation" of socialist states;

(3) using all opportunities to invade and extend its influence in other capitalist countries, especially Afro-Asian and Latin American nations with a view to establishing an unprecedentedly huge, boundary-less American empire. In the light of what the U.S. has done, let us see whether there is any change in America's basic policy.

No End To Arms Expansion and War Preparations

First, the U.S. is stepping up its arms expansion and war preparations. Eisenhower in his 1960 State of the Union message said that the United States must start from a position of strength and "exert every effort to increase its prestige and strength." The U.S. Secretary of State Christian Herter also agitated that "it is more necessary than ever to preserve our strength and the strength of our allies."

Recent testimonies made by American generals in U.S. Congress and statements made by Congressmen are the best comments on America's so-called "peaceful intentions." David M. Shoup, Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, testified that the 1961 budget for defense was too small to meet the need of a "total war." Senator Warren G. Magnuson of Washington proposed to increase funds for the development of inter-continental ballistic missiles. Adm. Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, demanded that the U.S. should put in operation in 1962 nine polaris-

type submarines equipped with guided missiles capable of hitting any hidden target in the Soviet Union. The U.S. Secretary of Navy Wilber M. Brucker divulged that the U.S. could take immediate action according to an already prepared war plan in the event any SEATO nation is subject to aggression. General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army, even asked for reinforcement of U.S. aggressive forces in Korea.

As everybody knows, the U.S. is increasing the speed to carry out a five-year arms expansion plan (1959-1963) with special emphasis on the development of guided missiles. The U.S. Government has already set aside a defense budget of US\$45.3-billion, of which US\$8-billion will be used for guided missiles.

At a press conference on 3 February 1960, Eisenhower said that America's missiles program had already reached a point where additional appropriations could no longer increase its speed of development.

Meanwhile, the U.S. is fully occupied with the expansion of nuclear weapons, and ready to resume nuclear tests at any time. According to an Associated Press dispatch of 5 February, the U.S. was prepared to detonate three kinds of powerful nuclear weapons within several months.

In foreign countries, the U.S. through the North Atlantic Council formulated a ten-year plan for the strengthening of military alliances, whereby making West Germany a potential battleground in a new war. At the same time, the U.S. signed a new treaty of military alliance with Japan, thus turning Asia and the Pacific area into another potential battleground in a new holocaust. To supplement its ICBM's, the U.S. has expanded its missile units and established bases for intermediate-range ballistic missiles. Aside from four intermediate-range missile bases in England, the U.S. is building two missile bases in Italy, and preparing to build such bases in Spain, Turkey, Greece, Iran, Pakistan and Spain. In the Far East, the U.S. is either building or expanding missile bases in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan.

These facts show that the U.S. is currently engaged in strategic preparations for a global war. The basic aim of such preparations is to develop long-range guided missiles

as the essential weapon in a nuclear war. At the same time, she has not foregone preparations for "local wars."

America's strategic arrangements show that she is more aggressive and more venturesome. That the U.S. has recently curtailed the anti-missile program and concentrated on manufacturing strategic weapons is a proof of this point. The noted military commentator of the New York Times Hanson Baldwin admitted that the curtailment of anti-missile program reflected the opinion of some Americans who think that the best way of defense today is attack. He regarded this as "a revision of U.S. policy from defense to offense."

Can these hard facts prove that the U.S. has given up its "policy of strength," "policy of intimidation" and "policy of war"? Or can these facts prove that the U.S. has "peaceful intentions"?

Continued Hostility Toward Socialist Countries

Has the U.S. abandoned her hostile attitude toward the socialist camp, abandoned her "liberation policy," or ceased her activities aimed at destroying the socialist governments? The answer is also no. Although the U.S. accepts now some idea that would deter the world situation from worsening, she evidently makes little effort to hide her ambition of destroying the socialist states at any time. Vice President Nixon said: "We will not acquiesce in or give consent to the enslaved position of East European countries." U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for public affairs Andrew Berding said that "the U.S. does not expect the perpetual existence of the status quo maintained by the Soviet-dominated Communist bloc."

He added that the U.S. is stepping up its armament and strengthening its war potentials in the hope of starting a war at an opportune moment to change such a status quo. A foreign policy report published on 7 December 1959 by the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation said: "The U.S. wishes to pay any price for maintaining her defense power so that she can wage a total or a local war when it is necessary to use force to protect her own interest."

The U.S., while talking about "peaceful intentions" and "thawing of the cold war," has never ceased its provocative insinuations and attacks against the socialist camp. Shamelessly, the U.S. sponsored a so-called "Enslaved Nations Week," and compelled the majority of U.N. members to pass reactionary resolutions on the so-called "Hungarian question" and "Tibetan question."

Eisenhower, in his State of the Union message, insulted socialist countries by saying that they are police states using "force to conquer free people." He insulted the socialist camp by describing it as a "a satellite system of the hell." These insinuations and attacks prove forcefully that it is impossible to expect any change in the reactionary nature of American imperialism.

The attacks and hostility of American imperialists toward China cannot be any worse. Up to now, the U.S. is still occupying China's territory--Taiwan Strait.

Intensification of Colonial Policy

Third, has the U.S. changed its aggressive and expansion policy toward under-developed countries in Asia, Africa and Latin American? The answer is also No. Always taking an extremely hostile attitude toward national independence movements, U.S. imperialism is the strongest pillar of the structure called colonial system. While talking spiritedly about "peace," "friendship" and "fraternity" with Afro-Asian and Latin-American countries in the last few months, the U.S. interfered brutally with Cuba's national independence movement, oppressed the people of Panama who demanded the retrocession of the Canal Zone, and dispatched marines to Dominican Republic in an attempt to scare the Latin Americans now engaged in their national democratic movements.

In the Far East, the U.S. manufactured the Laotian civil strife, continued to interfere in Laotian domestic affairs and made repeated attempts to overthrow the Cambodian government which has been pursuing a policy of peace and neutrality. In the Middle East and Africa, the U.S.

lent support to colonial powers in suppressing national independence movements and, at the same time, intensified its subversive activities under the banner of "peaceful change" and "assistance to under-developed countries."

What conclusion can one draw from the above facts? The inevitable conclusion is that there is no change whatsoever in America's war policy and policy of colonial aggression. American imperialism remains the chief threat to world peace and security and the most deadly enemy of the people all over the world.

Sinking Into Unprecedented Isolation

The change in the relative strength of the two world camps could not have changed the tactics of U.S. foreign policy so fast. The immediate reason compelling the U.S. to change her tactics is that as a result of the resolute struggles launched by the people all over the world, America's after the Middle East incident of 1958 and the Taiwan Strait war of the same year, Dulles's "brink of war" policy became bankrupt. Dulles once said: "The skill of going to the brink of war without getting involved in a war is a necessary art. If you run away from there or you are afraid to go to the brink, you are defeated." These words said by Dulles in 1956 turned out to be a prediction for the events that took place in 1958. The American aggressors did "run away" from the "brink of war" created by themselves, and showed before the whole world what the U.S. really is--a paper tiger.

Not only so, the U.S. has made herself a target of attack and condemnation by millions of people at home and abroad for manufacturing tension and "brinks" of war. The U.S. Department of State admitted in 1958 that the department had received a large number of letters from American citizens, about 80 percent of which were in disagreement with Dulles' policy. In the Congressional election of 1958, the Republican Party suffered one of the greatest defeats in the last one hundred years.

One of the chief reasons was American voters' opposition to the Eisenhower administration's foreign policy. Outside of the United States, John Foster Dulles was called "the bird of bad omen," and the countries covered by the Eisenhower Doctrine were called "a big jail." The former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union George F. Kennan admitted in an article in October, 1958 that besides the U.S. he cannot find a single country which has invited so much curse, so much enmity, so much disaffection and criticism and, under certain circumstances, so much outright hatred."

The awkward and isolated position in which the U.S. finds herself makes her feel very much worried. In his 1959 State of the Union message, Eisenhower said alarmingly that "if we sink into an isolated position, the U.S. will be a hell rather than a bastion." Therefore, how to change the tactics, how to cover up the true intention, and how to win people's sympathy with a view to getting out of an unthinkable predicament are the problems that plague America's policy-makers today.

American policy-makers cannot fail to see not only the futility of manufacturing "brinks of war" but also the impracticability of continuing to say "no", to refuse to negotiate and to keep many unsettled problems with the socialist camp in a state of deadlock. As the demand by the people all over the world for an end to the cold war and the easing of international tension is rising and the idea of peaceful co-existence advocated by socialist countries has become more and more popular, any country which runs against this tendency will suffer.

It is under the pressure of this force of peace that the U.S. imperialists begin to talk about "peace" and to show their willingness to negotiate with the Soviet Union. This change in tactics is most evident in America's attitude toward the Berlin question. Although responsible American officials insist on the so-called "principles" and "rights" of Western troops in Berlin, they cannot help but say that the last decision depends upon negotiation. An American political commentator Walter Lippmann put it frankly that "if the U.S. persists in its policy of non-negotiation, she will suffer an inestimable, and irreparable damage to her position in the world."

In short, the East wind is prevailing over the West wind; the strength of socialism, national revolution, peace and democracy is further enhanced; the crisis of capitalism is worsening day by day; and America's foreign policy has suffered serious setbacks one after another. This is the background and basic reason that compelled the U.S. to change its diplomatic strategy.

What is the Purpose of the Change in America's Diplomatic Tactics?

Although the change in U.S. diplomatic tactics is a result of the pressure of the world situation, the U.S. still has its own wishful thinkings; that is, to wrest the diplomatic initiative from the Soviet Union, and to achieve through "peaceful tactics" what "war tactics" have failed to do.

Behind the smokescreen of "peaceful tactics," the U.S. is playing a very deadly and tricky game.

Confuse People's Mind

First, the U.S. is posing as a champion of peace and dressing herself up as an "angel of peace" in an attempt to demoralize the people in their anti-imperialist struggle and their struggles in defense of peace. The American ruling bloc is only aware that shouting for war and manufacturing tension everywhere are unpopular. The more the U.S. does so, the more opposition and condemnation she will get from people all over the world, including the Americans; and the more unfavorable the situation will become for her arms expansion.

Not long ago, Eisenhower said he felt not quite at ease at the thought that people throughout the world, including America's allies, regard the U.S. as chauvinistic. So he talked spiritedly about "peace," made certain peace-

ful gestures and set out personally on a "goodwill" mission to Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America.

One of the purposes of his mission, in his own words, was to repaint a portrait of the U. S. and alter people's impression of the U. S. Capitalizing on people's hope for peace, the U. S. builds up their illusions, thereby paralyzing their will of struggle. All peace-loving people should keep a high degree of vigilance against this kind of alluring scheme.

Play for Time,

Restore Military Superiority and
Tighten Control Over "Allies."

Second, that the U. S. is unfurling the flag of peace and adopt some tactics to ease world tension is to gain time for the restoration of her military superiority. The U. S. ruling bloc has to admit that to overhaul America's armed forces and to catch up with the Soviet Union in the development of guided missile research institute von Braun said on 7 April 1959 that it would take five years for the U. S. to catch up with the Soviet Union in the development of guided missiles. "Unless we step up our research activities in the next ten years, there is no hope for us to keep abreast of the progress," he admitted.

The U. S. Senate Foreign Affairs Committee published a report on 5 December 1959, saying that the U. S. must "exert the utmost effort" to develop ICBM, and use "the utmost effort" to establish fixed missile launching grounds and a mobile land, air and sea missile launching system to shorten the time required for closing the gap between the U. S. and the Soviet Union in missile development.

The U. S. not only needs time to expand its armed forces but also needs a breathing spell to tighten control over its allies and to compell the latter to contribute more to America's aggressive adventures. The Washington Evening Star once divulged Washington's official thinking, saying: "What the West needs is time--time to mend the military alliances, time to readjust the economic competition among Western nations, and in short, time to develop the poten-

tial strength of the West to the highest degree."

Here, one cannot help asking what, after all, is America's real intention behind her expressed willingness to negotiate? At this moment, all peace-loving people of the world show their concern and welcome a high-level talk between the East and the West. They hope that such a talk will contribute to the easing of world tension and to the maintenance of world peace.

The U. S., however, does not intend to solve any specific problem of great importance to world peace at the conference table. She wants, rather, to prolong talks in order to gain time. Christian Herter said in December 1959 that "negotiations with the Soviet Union may take a long period of time."

Assistant Secretary of State of Public Affairs Andrew Berding told the American public on 29 January 1960 that "a series of top-level conferences may last several years." While commenting on summit meeting, James Reston of the New York Times said America's policy is to "buy time" with negotiation.

Psychological Warfare and the Scheme of Alienation

Third, the U. S. is now using "peace" and an eased world situation to give the people of socialist countries a false sense of security. Particularly, the U. S. is using personnel and cultural exchange to subvert the socialist camp, using capitalist ideology to corrupt the will of revolution of the people of socialist states, and entering the wishful thinking of transforming and destroying socialist states, and entertaining the wishful thinking of transforming and destroying socialist system.

In his last few years as U. S. Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, while insisting on his "war strategy," proposed a so-called "strategy for victory through peace" which includes the wishful thinking for an "evolution" in socialist states.

In the last few months, talks about this kind of "evolution" loomed large in the U. S. On 17 January 1960, the U. S. Senate Foreign Affairs Committee published a

report, entitled "Ideology and Diplomacy," which represents a frank exposition of this "evolution" strategy. "In view of the ideological forces which play a role in the arena of international politics," the report said, "U. S. foreign policy must have a broad range of view and encourage evolution of the Soviet system and evolution within the Communist bloc."

This report maintained that the U. S. must take "positive action" persistently to destroy the ideological system of socialism. How? The report said: "We should promote real exchange rather than the kind of exchange existing only in name."

"The U. S. should do its best to promote contact with the intellectuals and eventually the higher and middle-level politicians in the Communist camp in order to gradually influence their thinking and belief," the report added.

The director of U. S. Information Agency George Allen put it even more bluntly in January 1959, saying that "personnel exchange has punched one of the five holes through the iron curtain," the other four holes being punched by the "Voice of America," American pictorials, American exchange movies and the U. S. exhibition in Moscow. He said shamelessly: "Every time we punch a hole through the iron curtain, we let the light go through, thus winning a victory in psychological warfare."

For subverting the socialist states, the U.S. sets up many special agencies. The November 1959 issue of the Soviet magazine International Life carried an article by Ju-ko-fu [Zhukov], Chairman of the Foreign Cultural Relations Committee of the Soviet Ministry of Culture, revealing America's espionage activities.

The article attributed to a report in the New York Times of 2 August for disclosing that there is an information agency for American travelers to the Soviet Union on East 46 Street New York. "Here is a training ground for American travelers to the Soviet Union," the article pointed out.

There is another organization named "Hand of Friendship" which is responsible for disseminating finely printed

information brochures to American travelers to the USSR. Zhukov article also revealed that not long ago, a so-called "International Education Research Institution" in the U.S. called a conference attended by 1,000 representatives from 130 organizations.

The chief topic of discussion at the conference was "how to change the thinking of Soviet citizens and make them believe in capitalism."

The U.S. also uses more covert methods to subvert and destroy socialist states. On 8 February, the Newsweek openly admitted that the U.S. Government is using 100,000 agents and U.S. 3 billion dollars a year for espionage activities against the socialist states.

Meanwhile, the U.S. uses "peaceful" and "relation" gestures to weaken and destroy the solidarity among the socialist states. This kind of scheme is applied particularly in trying to alienate the relationship between China and the Soviet Union. American policy-makers made it known that "to drive a wedge between the enemies will be one of the chief endeavors in America's current foreign policy."

Although American imperialist schemes and contrivances are filled with foolish illusions, they say in the most explicit terms that U.S. policy may change at any time, using certain tactics at a certain time. The final aim is to achieve their basic purpose; that is, to preserve capitalism and destroy socialism.

Wooing and Controlling National Independent Countries

Fourth, while preventing national independence movement, the U.S. is trying to win the friendship of national independent states with a view to seeking the sympathy of states uncommitted to any camp, socialist or imperialist.

The U.S. has found long time ago that she is in the midst of a hurricane caused by national revolutions. She

found herself in an awkward position in Asia, Africa and Latin America. On 14 January 1959, John Foster Dulles testified at the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee that "the strongest force affecting the world today is the independence and freedom movement, and this force is quite evident in Asia, Africa and Latin America." He advocated that "we must use our perseverance, energy, wealth and technology to deal with problems in these areas so that we can win in those parts of the world."

Senator Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, supplemented Dulles' remarks by saying that the U.S. should be "more mellow, humbler, more tactful and wiser" toward nationalist states. Evidently the American ruling bloc thinks that pretensions of "peace and friendship" are helpful to luring and wooing the nationalist states and, at the time, helpful to U.S. intervention in national independence movement.

One of the purposes of Eisenhower's trip to Asia and Africa is to win by ruse "the support of neutral and uncommitted countries (New York Times) and "to win the friendship of the non-West and non-White world" (New York Post).

Toward the nationalist states, one of the major attempts of the U.S. is to goad these countries unwilling to assume any role in the cold war to play a part and to drag them into military alliance master-minded by the U.S. To achieve this aim, the U.S. uses "aid" as a bait and the so-called "communist aggression" to scare these countries. She even resorts to measures to overthrow the government in power and to create "a more favorable political situation" in these countries.

Prof. Po-k'e, an American expert on southeast Asian affairs, advocated that the U.S. should help soldiers in southeast Asian countries establish military dictatorship through military coups. When it is premature to manufacture coup or to drag certain nationalist countries into military blocs, the U.S. uses more subtle methods to win the sympathy of these countries. The Rockefeller Brothers Foundation published a report in December 1959, entitled "Challenges to U.S. Foreign Policy in Mid-Twentieth Century." It said that the U.S. should give assistance to some Afro-

Asian countries without asking for military and economic alliance as a price." This, the report said, "implies an invisible influence."

We should see that the U.S. is currently trying to alienate China from other Afro-Asian countries as an important strategy to win the friendship of nationalist states. The recently published Conlon report pointed out that if the U.S. wants her China policy to be effective, she "must win the understanding and support of the countries bordering China." Lately, U.S. government officials and propaganda machineries did their best to attack China, insinuating China as "the greatest threat to world peace," and "the most evident menace to all free Asians at this moment."

They alleged that "the Chinese revolution at this stage of expansion is a danger to peace in Asia and the whole world." In the words of the Japanese newspaper Asahi Shinbun, America's scheme is to describe China as the No 1 villain of the world in an attempt to scare the national independent countries in Asia and Africa and prevent them from uniting with socialist countries.

The above shows what America's "peaceful intention" really is. One can clearly see that the U.S. imperialists' "peaceful strategy" is identical with their "war strategy;" both are used to serve a basic policy--the policy of war and aggression. No matter how beautiful is American imperialists' song of peace, the objective they pursue has never been peace. The Christian Science Monitor, in an editorial on 27 January 1960, said very plainly: "Peace is not a policy, but a condition for executing a policy. Peace probably is a very much desired condition for attaining the objectives of the state." The imperialists always have two sets of policies--one is war-like and the other "peaceful."

They have two faces; one is that of a butcher and the other, that of an angel. They will adopt one policy or the other, depending upon which policy or gesture is most advantageous at the time. Imperialism, after all, is imperialism. No matter under what circumstances, its reactionary nature cannot be changed. Is America's latest scheming activity behind the smoke-screen of peace not a full proof of this point?

How Long Can the U.S. Play Its Two-Faced Tricks?

U.S. Exposes Its Own Tricks

Now that the U.S. is enjoying and taking pride in toying with the two-faced strategy of talking about peace while engaged in arms expansion. Can she play this trick forever? Definitely not, because this kind of trick has its inherent, insurmountable contradictions. The U.S. monopoly capitalist group cannot survive without annexation, aggression and expansion. The interest of imperialists is fundamentally opposed to the peaceful interests of the people throughout the world, and the conflict between imperialism and the colonial, semi-colonial and underdeveloped countries is irreconcilable. Therefore, America's pretensions, no matter how well covered up, is bound to be unveiled by herself.

In the last few months, one can see not only that America's words are inconsistent with her deeds but also that even her words are inconsistent. For instance, the ruling group of the U.S., for the sake of winning popularity, reiterated its willingness to end the cold war and relax U.S.-Soviet relations, but it is very afraid of a real relaxation in the world situation. As the Newsweek put in August 1959; "Washington is greatly worried about that Khrushchev's visit to the U.S. may produce an unfounded sense of security in the minds of many Americans." Therefore, the U.S. must stress that "nothing will really change;" in other words, the cold war will remain the same even though the world situation is somewhat relaxed.

Why the U.S. is so afraid of peace? First of all, she is afraid that a relaxed world situation will affect the interest of monopoly capitalists who survive on the profit from armament industry. The Daily Herald of London said that the armament manufacturers and those who are afraid that disarmament may affect America's economic prosperity react "enthusiastically" to any word from official quarters about the revival of cold war.

Secondly, the ruling bloc in the U.S. is also afraid that America's allies will consciously or unconsciously take America's gesture of peace too seriously as to relax their effort at armament expansion. Herter once said:

"Nothing can be more fatal to our survival than relaxing our efforts while trying to ease the world tension. One of the serious dangers ahead is that people may subconsciously do so." Whenever Herter and men like him talk about America's "peaceful intentions" they cannot help from agitating arms expansion and war preparations, thus betraying their true intentions.

By the same token, whenever the U.S., for the sake of winning the friendship of national states in Asia and Africa, reiterates its respect and support of other people's freedom and independence, she is actually more afraid of the rise of national independence movements than any other country. The American "Kuo-min Chien-wei pao" [National Herald] said in an article on 11 January 1960: "The events in Africa have put the U.S. in a dilemma. The policy of the State Department has always recognized colonial people's rights to freedom, but the State Department also holds that, like what former Secretary of State Dean Acheson had said, these people cannot have freedom until they show that they 'deserve' freedom and 'are well prepared' to enjoy freedom.

As a matter of fact, the U.S. has never considered any colonial people 'deserving' freedom or 'well prepared' to enjoy freedom before they have wrested freedom from the hands of the imperialist. Even when freedom is won, the U.S. refuses to recognize or oppose such freedom if it is colored by socialism or neutralism." America's so-called "predicament" actually arises from her lip service to national independence and her obstruction to national independence. The foregoing represents a terse description of America's two-faced strategy.

Sinking Deeper Into Dilemma

As the late U.S. President Abraham Lincoln said: "You may fool all the people some of the time; you can even fool some of the people all the time; but you can't fool all of the people all the time." Although America's double-faced pretensions have been pierced by more and more

people of the world, they may still fool some people but not for long. America's wishful thinking of using this kind of tactics to paralyze the people of the world is bound to be shattered.

Since the U.S. has not changed or abandoned its policy of war and aggression except for playing some tricks about peace, the U.S. policy cannot get out of the "blind alley" or "dark woods." Facts have shown and will continue to show that her double-faced strategy will not put her in a better diplomatic position but, on the contrary, makes her sink deeper into dilemma.

The development of world situation is favorable to the force of socialism, national revolution, peace and democracy and unfavorable to imperialism and chauvinism. No matter what strategy the U.S. imperialists may adopt--peaceful or warlike, or both--they can neither change the world situation characterized by the prevalence of the East wind over the West wind, nor save the imperialist camp from its fate of degeneration.

Due to the enhanced strength of socialism and peace and the persistent struggle of the people of the world, a tendency of relaxation has already appeared on the international scene. If we of the socialist camp incessantly increase our strength, incessantly consolidate our unity with people throughout the world, thoroughly expose and crush the crafty schemes of the imperialists and launch resolute struggle with them, then America's war policy and aggressive policy will definitely meet with even more serious setbacks and our efforts at maintaining world peace and building socialism will win an even greater victory.

END

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